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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

**T**HE Quincentenary of the Foundation of the University of Louvain was celebrated on the 28th and 29th of June, in a spirit of gratitude to the founders and benefactors, who by their gifts and personal service have raised it to the eminent position in the world of Science and Letters which it occupies to-day.

Normally these celebrations would have taken place in the June of last year, but they were postponed until the end of the present academic year, in the hope that the new library building would have been completed and ready for formal dedication. Such, however, have been the delays, over which the University authorities have had no control, that it is unlikely the buildings will be out of the builder's hands for at least another year.

The history of the University has been an eventful one. In 1428, John IV., Duke of Brabant, received the permission of the Pope to found a university in the town of Louvain, and in the Bull of Erection dated December 9th, 1425, Pope Martin V. accorded the new foundation the various privileges, liberties, and immunities which the other great European universities enjoyed. According to contemporary records it seems that the Duke would have preferred the establishment of the University at Brussels, but the magistrates of that city, fearing the possible unruliness of the students, vigorously opposed the suggestion. The University was formally opened in October, 1426, and soon won for itself a prominent position among the schools of Europe.

The great tide of Humanist learning at the beginning of the sixteenth century brought the University an era of glory. In 1502, the

renowned scholar Erasmus arrived at Louvain, and with the aid of his generous patron of the arts and sciences, Jerome Busleiden, he founded the famous Collège des Trois-Langues, an institution devoted to the study of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and the development of literary criticism on scientific lines. But the period of Louvain's ascendancy was destined to be comparatively short. The advent of Luther's doctrines caused a disturbing influence to be felt, and some of the University's most brilliant professors, including Erasmus, were obliged to depart on account of their radical views.

The great religious war of the Netherlands in the latter half of the sixteenth century brought the University to the verge of ruin. Peace was at length restored under the reign of the Archduke Albert and of Isabella and the University recovered much of its lost prestige. At this period the number of students rose to approximately 8000. The peace of the University was not seriously disturbed again until towards the close of the eighteenth century. Belgium was annexed to the French Republic in 1795, and the Directory lost no time in putting into force its anti-religious measures against the University. Resistance was useless, and the inevitable suppression followed. This was the end of the mediæval University of Louvain. After the fall of Napoleon, Belgium was annexed to Holland, but in 1830 it succeeded in gaining its independence. Four years later the Bishops of Belgium, with the sanction of the Pope, established at Malines a free Catholic University independent of the State. The next year, however, it was transferred to Louvain, on the earnest invitation of the municipality, and the old university buildings were placed at its disposal.

In May, 1909, the University celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its restoration, and the number of students in that year was over 3000.

The account of the burning of Louvain in August, 1914, is so well known that there is little need of further reference to it. Of the Halles, in which the famous library was housed, nothing remained save blackened walls and a mass of charred remains of manuscripts and printed books, many of which had been priceless and irreplaceable.

Three months after the Armistice, in the month of January, 1919, Belgium having been freed from the presence of the invaders, the University was repatriated by the return of the authorities to the devastated scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to reassemble their



scattered students, to resume their accustomed work, and to take a prominently active part in the immediate business of effecting a transition to a peace footing, as well as in the educational and other schemes of reconstruction which were already taking shape. During that first year of its revival no fewer than 3200 students were in attendance, and during the ensuing session a still larger number were enrolled.

It is now nearly nine years since the University resumed its sessions, amid the ruined auditoria. The record of those nine years has been one of amazing progress, a record that will stand to the lasting credit of those in Europe and in America who have shared in the restoration of one of the greatest schools of learning in Europe.

It was a brilliant and picturesque gathering of representatives not only from every country in Europe but from America, India, and the Far East that assembled to pay honour to this ancient institution in the reconstructed Halles Universitaires, in which the famous library was housed at the time of its destruction in 1914. Representatives from no fewer than one hundred and fifty universities and other learned societies, from twenty-seven different countries, took part in the proceedings which opened on Tuesday the 28th of June. It was in the Halles that the procession was formed and thence proceeded to the Collège du Pape, where the celebration was held.

The ceremony was attended by the King and Queen of the Belgians, accompanied by Prince Léopold, who received a great ovation as they entered the great auditorium. There were present also three Cardinals : Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster ; Cardinal O'Connell, Primate of Ireland ; and Cardinal Van Roey, Archbishop of Malines, Primate of Belgium, and Pope's Legate, together with a large number of other prelates, and members of various religious orders, ambassadors and ministers of various countries, the professorial staff, and the large number of representatives to whom reference has already been made.

The proceedings were opened by the Papal Nuncio, Monseigneur Crets, General of the Order of Premonstratensians, who after congratulating Cardinal Van Roey upon his recent elevation to the Purple, read the Pope's Brief. Monseigneur Ladeuze, the Recteur Magnificus of the University, then delivered a brilliant address, in which he traced the history of the University. Professor Van der Essen, the Secretary of the University, followed with a brief epitome of the

monumental "History of the University," which had just made its appearance under his editorship. The next speaker was Monsieur Bédier who, speaking on behalf of the Académie Française, conveyed a fraternal message, and in a brilliant oration congratulated the University upon its devotion to the cause of truth throughout the five centuries of its history.

After another speech by the Pro-rector of the University Charlemagne de Nimègue the formal presentation of addresses took place, and it was the writer's privilege to present addresses of congratulation on behalf of the University of Manchester, and the Trustees and Governors of the John Rylands Library.

At the conclusion of this part of the proceedings the Recteur Magnificus announced the conferment of a number of degrees as Doctors of different faculties, *honoris causa*. The first to receive diplomas were the King, who was proclaimed Doctor of Applied Science, and the Queen who was presented with the diploma of Doctor of Medicine.

The ceremonials concluded with an address by the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, when the procession was reformed and led by the three Cardinals and other prelates returned to the Hotel de Ville.

In the evening another interesting function was observed, at which the University formally resumed possession of the reconstructed Halles, and after several eloquent tributes had been paid to the Recteur Magnificus, Monseigneur Ladeuze, who for eighteen years has filled the office of Rector, his portrait painted by Janssens was presented to him as a testimony of the gratitude and esteem of the professorial body. This interesting ceremony was followed by a banquet at which many other congratulatory speeches were delivered including one by the Belgian Premier.

It is a day that will long live in the memories of those who were privileged to take part in the various ceremonies.

On the following day the religious festival was observed in the Church of Saint Pierre where a solemn mass was celebrated, followed by the crowning of the statue of "Notre Dame de la Sagesse."

William Blake, "the man who uttered himself now in abstruse mystic symbols, now in ravishing song, now in pictorial or engraved figures of Michelangesque grandeur, and had a soul flawlessly single, simple, and profound," died

THE CENTENARY OF  
WILLIAM  
BLAKE, 1827-  
1927.



in August, 1827, in an obscure court off the Strand, in London. The centenary of his death will be duly commemorated throughout the country in a variety of ways; and it is our intention to mark the occasion, with the assistance of Professor C. H. Herford, who has kindly undertaken to deliver a memorial lecture, on Wednesday, the 12th of October, in the lecture hall of the Library at 7.30 in the evening.

In an illuminating tribute which Professor Herford contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* of July 6, he recalls Wordsworth's reference to Blake: "I fear there is no doubt the poor man is mad, but his madness interests me more than the sanity of Lord Byron and Walter Scott," and remarks that at the time of his death "no one dreamed that 'the poor man' in whom Wordsworth confessed his interest would become the object of a reverent homage which after a century is still growing; or that the charge of madness would be with increasing emphasis dismissed. He lived among second-rate artists and third-rate poets; to the few contemporaries of kindred and comparable genius he was almost wholly unknown."

"One or two of his poems caught the ear of Coleridge. Lamb went about reciting (and misquoting) the great anvil music of the 'Tiger.' The cultivated and highly respectable clubman Crabb Robinson, friend of Goethe and Rogers, listened with bewilderment to Blake's anarchic paradoxes, and his record of their talk is a feast for the Comic Spirit. As for the mass of the 'Prophetic Books,' they remained utterly unregarded save for their fine prints. More than a generation had passed since his death when Swinburne, one of the first to proclaim Blake's greatness in lyric, made, in 1868, a serious but ineffectual attempt to penetrate the forbidding jungle. After almost another generation Mr. W. B. Yeats, Blake's nearest of kin among all later poets, followed, in 1893, and his interpretation, more dubiously elaborated by his colleague Edwin Ellis, compelled the recognition of real if shadowy meaning, as well as of singular imaginative grandeur, in the enigmatic histories of Urizen and Enitharmon, Los and Vala, and the rest. Later still, a band of determined students—in particular Sampson (1905), Sloss, and Wallis, in Liverpool, where Blake has been something of a local cult, applied to these riddles the resources and the scruples of modern scholarship. Finally, in 1924, a Harvard scholar, Mr. Foster

Damon, after ten years of concentrated labour, has evolved from the 'Prophetic Books' a connected and articulate metaphysic, declaring the 'Jerusalem,' the last, most voluminous, and most abstruse of them, to be his crowning and most consummate utterance, the Ninth Symphony of a Beethoven of whose deeper music the world was not so much inappreciative as completely unaware."

We shall look forward to Professor Herford's lecture, which we hope to print in our next issue for the benefit of many of our readers who cannot hope to be present.

The production of Greek plays has been revived in the ancient Greek theatre of Syracuse. Indeed, the popular enthusiasm over this drama festival is comparable only to REVIVAL OF GREEK DRAMA. that over the Passion Play at Oberammergau. Behind the green and golden orange groves is the blue of the great harbour, where so many a goodly fleet has lost or won its laurels. It is believed that once this glorious theatre could seat ten thousand spectators, and tradition says that it was here that the "Persæ" of Æschylus was first performed. In so vast a stage facial expression is lost and "gives place to gesture and the beauty of the naked word." This year the "Medea" of Euripides was rendered by a young actress who had already conquered Rome, and a writer in the *Morning Post* predicts that the Italian classical revival will carry her to the highest triumphs.

The nineteenth centenary of Vergil's death has been celebrated at Mantua by the unveiling of an impressive monument. MANTUA HONOURS VERGIL. British and other universities were represented on the occasion, when peasants and scholars walked side by side in the procession. The actual centenary fell in 1881, an occasion for which Tennyson wrote his commemorative poem, but many vicissitudes, including the war, have delayed the celebration. Vergil was not without honour in his own country and his own day, and we are told that such were the throngs of his admirers that often he had to take refuge in the nearest house. Even after his death he was so honoured that the jealousy of the Emperor Caligula was excited, and he had the effigy of the poet removed from the libraries. Vergil was "big and tall, with swarthy complexion and rustic features," says his biographer Donatus, but many representations have given him an inspired and refined appearance. The new statue presents a counten-



ance of energetic virility ; and in the precincts it is intended to cultivate the flowers and trees which find so conspicuous a place in his poems.

The friends of Dr. A. W. Pollard, for so many years Honorary Secretary of the Bibliographical Society, and until recently Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, are anxious that the memory of his services to scholarship, and of his notable personality, should be perpetuated by a portrait to be preserved in one of the institutions with which he has been so long and so closely associated. The signatories of the appeal which is being sent out include representatives of the British Museum, the Bibliographical Society, the Library Association, and the Central Library for Students, to all of which institutions he has rendered inestimable service.

PROPOSED  
PORTRAIT  
OF DR. A. W.  
POLLARD.

It is no exaggeration to say that there are, not only in this country, but throughout the world a very large number of people who regard Dr. Pollard's work with the highest admiration and gratitude, and Dr. Pollard himself with the deepest affection, who would welcome the opportunity of joining in this tribute. The signatories have therefore taken upon themselves, and we would like to associate ourselves with them, to appeal for subscriptions, in order that a portrait of him may be obtained without delay.

We congratulate the signatories of the appeal on this happy thought of commemorating the worth and work of Dr. Pollard in a permanent form, whilst he is still able to hear the approving cheering words which it will call forth and have his heart thrilled and made happier by them. Too often we keep the kind things we mean to say sealed up until our friends are dead. In this case we shall have been permitted to say them whilst our friend is still with us to have his life sweetened by them.

The destination of the portrait may be left to be determined later ; but if, as is hoped, the Central Library for Students, the Library Association, the Bibliographical Society and other allied bodies are eventually housed in joint headquarters, it is probable that this may prove its most suitable home.

It is suggested that subscriptions need not exceed one or two guineas, while contributions of smaller amounts will be welcomed. The signatories have no doubt that the response will be sufficient to

enable them to secure the services of a first-rate artist. A list of contributors will be printed, but without amounts of their contributions ; and if funds suffice, it may be possible to offer to Dr. Pollard himself a replica of the portrait, and further perhaps to subscribers a reproduction of the same.

Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. R. Farquharson Sharp, the present Keeper of Printed Books, at the British Museum, London, W.C. 1, who has consented to act as Treasurer.

Sir Frederick Kenyon, the Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, took "Museums and National Life" as the subject for his Romanes Lecture, which was delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, at Oxford.

MUSEUMS  
AND  
NATIONAL  
LIFE.

Sir Frederick had an inspiring story to tell of a growing interest in the work of the museums "to raise the spiritual value of the community," and incidentally remarked that they "claimed to be no longer old curiosity shops."

"The growth of the museums is a comparative modern development of civilisation. Their recognition as an important element in the intellectual life of the nation is still more modern.

"The Ashmolean owes its origin to the collections of the Tradescants and Ashmole, the British Museum to those of Sloane—in both cases, therefore, to the intelligent curiosity and deliberate efforts of men with scientific tastes ; and to these have been added, from the seventeenth century downwards, the products of the activity of a large number of private collectors actuated by a real interest in art or science, but without any deliberate aim at increasing the intellectual wealth of the nation.

"Our English museums, more than those of any other nation until within the last half-century, are the outcome of a national habit of collecting. In respect of the practice of collecting, indeed, England has no reason to fear comparison with any other nation.

"Museums have ceased to be merely the arsenals of students engaged in research ; they are beginning to offer themselves to the public as a means of recreation and an instrument of education.

"They are a part of the response to the need that man has for quality in his life as well as quantity. They appeal to and stimulate three special motive forces in his nature : the sense of beauty, which



makes him desire to see beautiful objects ; the sense of curiosity, which makes him desire the widening of his experience and the increase of his knowledge ; and the sense which may be called the sense of continuity, which impels him to take interest in his foundations in the past.

“The museum is a means of heightening in value and extending in breadth the individual's conception of life. It gives him ideals of beauty and of human achievement which increase his sense of his own possibilities. Its ultimate purpose is to help the nation to save its soul.

“There has been a great increase during the last generation in the appreciation of museums, both national and local, by members of the public ; but the collective attitude of public bodies towards them has changed more slowly. Collectively the country does not realise what services it may receive from its museums, and consequently does not get from them as much as it could and should.

“In England overflowing private incomes are not common, and only a few among those who have acquired wealth recently have as yet acquired it with the sense of public service of this kind. All praise to the exceptions, whom, if they are still alive, it would be invidious to name ; but we could do well with a few more such benefactors as Cecil Rhodes and Andrew Carnegie. . . . The willingness of the public to be interested is almost pathetically evident ; and the Press is not only ready but eager to help.

“There are, therefore, all the elements present, except an abundance of cash, for a real development of this side of the nation's life ; and even without an abundance of cash there is much that may be done. What is necessary is that we should become more aware of what we are doing ; that we should do consciously, and therefore with more zeal and efficiency, what we are at present doing almost unconsciously. The issue at stake is not a small one. Nations are remembered less for their material development than for their contribution to the spiritual wealth of mankind.

“It is for us to see that England, with its fine traditions of mediæval art and modern literature, keeps pace in its spiritual life with its material development and its imperial achievement, and that the pressure of industrial conditions is not allowed to crush the soul.

It is interesting to read in the *London Gazette* of the appointment of a Royal Commission on Museums and Galleries, so soon after Sir Frederick Kenyon's delivery of the Romanes Lecture. MUSEUMS  
INQUIRY.

The Commission is to inquire into and report on the organisation, structural condition, and general cost of the institutions containing the national collections in London and Edinburgh. These include the British Museum, the various art galleries, and the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

Among other things the Commissioners will consider are the following :—

In what way, if any, expenditure may be limited without crippling the educational and general usefulness of the institutions.

Whether it would be desirable to institute a more general system of admission fees.

Whether it would be desirable to place all the national treasures under some central authority.

The members of the Commission are :

Viscount D'Abernon (chairman) ; Hon. Evan Edward Charteris, K.C. ; Sir Thomas Little Heath ; Sir Lionel Earle ; Sir Richard Tetley Glazebrook ; Sir George Macdonald ; Sir Courtauld Thomson ; Sir William Martin Conway ; Sir Henry Alexander Miers ; Sir Robert Clermont Witt ; Dr. Arthur Ernest Cowley.

We wonder whether this is an outgrowth of the investigation of the museums of the country which was undertaken last year by Sir Henry Miers, at the request of the Carnegie Trustees of the United Kingdom ?

The Jubilee of the Foundation of the [British] Library Association will be commemorated during the last week of September in Edinburgh, when the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine will be installed as President. Lord Elgin is the Chairman of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, who by their enlightened administration of the Funds entrusted to them by Mr. Andrew Carnegie have made possible the almost phenomenal developments which have taken place in the public library organisation of this country during the last few years. It was peculiarly appropriate,

JUBILEE OF  
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TION.



therefore, that the Chairman of this Fund should be invited to preside over the forthcoming Jubilee celebrations of the Library Association.

The meetings will partake of the character of an International Conference, since no fewer than ninety representatives from Australia, Canada, the United States, and most of the European countries have signified their intention of being present.

With the assistance of the Carnegie Trust, the Library Association have arranged for the benefit of the visiting delegates from overseas a pre-conference tour, to enable them to visit some of the literary and historical shrines of the country, and some of our most famous libraries. The delegates will be met at London by the present President and Honorary Secretary of the Library Association and Lieut.-Colonel Mitchell, the Secretary of the Carnegie Trust, and after receiving a very cordial welcome in the Metropolis, they will be conducted to Jordans, Oxford, Stratford-on-Avon, Warwick, Birmingham, Manchester, York, Glasgow, and Edinburgh.

We are delighted to see the announcement of the appointment of the Rev. Dr. J. N. Farquhar, Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester, to the Wilde Lectureship in natural and comparative religion. The appointment is for three years, but fortunately for Manchester it does not necessitate residence. Professor Farquhar is one of our most valued contributors, and is held in the highest possible esteem in Manchester.

PROFESSOR  
FARQUHAR  
WILDE  
LECTURER.

In the present issue we publish a further instalment of the series of texts and facsimiles of Christian documents in Syriac and Garshuni, which are accompanied by translations and apparatus criticus by Dr. A. Mingana, preceded by introductions by Dr. Rendel Harris.

RECOVERED  
SYRIAC  
CHRISTIAN  
WRITINGS.

The present instalment includes a new Jeremiah Apocryphon which purports to contain the history of the events that preceded and followed the deportation of the Jews to Babylon, and is drawn from a manuscript recently found by Dr. Mingana in Kurdistan. This has been collated with another recension of the same story which is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

When in 1889 Dr. Rendel Harris published the Greek Apocalypse under the title of "The Rest of the Words of Baruch"

he made the observation that : "In addition to these Baruch books to which we have been alluding . . . it is very likely that there are other Baruch and Jeremiah books which have perished." It is interesting, therefore, to find, nearly forty years after that lament was uttered, that one of these lost writings had been recovered by Dr. Mingana.

The recovered document is in Garshuni, that is to say the language of it is Arabic, but the script in which it is written is Syriac. It was sometimes presented in this form in order to escape Moslem criticism.

The second document is a new life of John the Baptist, which is a curious mixture of history and legend. The author has blended the Biblical account with an amount of apocryphal detail sufficient to justify its classification as "Apocryphal."

The third section of the present instalment consists of a group of Psalms of no special intrinsic value, but, as Dr. Harris remarks in his introduction they are not without interest, if they illustrate to us the wide extent of the early hymnology, whether of the Hebrew community or imitated in the early Christian Church under the title of the Odes of Solomon. The authorship of these uncanonical psalms is unknown.

The following is a preliminary list of public lectures (the 26th series), which have been arranged for delivery in the hall PUBLIC  
LECTURES. of the library, during the ensuing session.

### EVENING LECTURES.

Wednesday, 12th October 1927. "William Blake." By C. H. Herford, Litt.D., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th November, 1927. "A Primitive Dye Stuff" (with lantern illustrations). By J. Rendel Harris, Litt.D., D.Theol., F.B.A.

Wednesday, 14th December, 1927. "Paul the Apostle : his personality and his achievement." By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th January, 1928. "Gerald of Wales." By F. M. Powicke, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of Mediæval History in the University of Manchester.



Wednesday, 14th March, 1928. "The Art of Jane Austen."  
By S. Alexander, D.Litt., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of Philosophy  
in the University of Manchester.

The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue, and will serve to indicate the character of the additions which are constantly being made.

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SIONS TO  
THE  
LIBRARY.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE : Bossert (H. T.), "Peasant art in Europe : 100 plates reproducing 2100 examples of peasant ornament and handicraft," Fol. ; Marle (R. Van), "The development of the Italian schools of painting, vols. 7-8," 8vo ; Giafferri (P. L.), "L'histoire du costume féminin mondial de l'an 5310 A. C. à nos jours," 2 vols., Fol. ; "Ars Asiatica, 10 : Documents pour servir à l'étude d'Ajanta : les peintures de la première grotte," par V. Goloubew, 4to ; "Encyclopædia of English furniture from Gothic times to the middle 19th century, with an introduction by O. Brackett," 4to ; "Documents artistiques du 15me siècle, 1 : Poètes et musiciens du 15me siècle, 2 : Pierre de Nesson et ses œuvres, 3 : Jeux et travaux d'après un livre d'heures," 4to ; Blum (A.), "Les origines de la gravure en France : les estampes sur bois et sur métal, les incunables xylographiques," 4to ; Venturi (A.), "Michel-Ange avec 296 reproductions hors texte," 4to ; Le Couteur (J. D.), "English mediæval painted glass," 8vo ; Serlio (S.), "Archittetura in sei libri divisa," Venetia, 1663, Fol. ; Babelon (J.), "Les trésors du Cabinet des Antiques : le cabinet du roi ou le salon Louis V de la Bibliothèque Nationale," 4to ; Berenson (B.), "Three essays in method with 133 plates," 4to ; Benkard (E.), "Das ewige Antlitz : Eine Sammlung von Totenmasken," 8vo ; Courboin (F.), "Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France, tome 3 : 19e siècle," 4to ; Schreiber (W. L.), "Handbuch der Holz-und-metalschnitte des 15 Jahrhunderts," Band 3, 4to ; "Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, part 5 : Rajput painting," 4to ; "The cleaning and restoration of museum exhibits : third report of investigations conducted in the British Museum, by Alex. Scott," 8vo ; Furst (Herbert), "Portrait painting, its nature, and function. 166 reproductions," 4to ; "Grove's Dictionary of music and musicians.

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## ART AND NATURE.<sup>1</sup>

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MANCHESTER.

**A**RT, if it is good, is beautiful, and the work of art may be said, when that expression is understood reasonably, to possess the quality of beauty. A rose, a sunset, the nightingale's song, a mother's devotion to her child—all of them works or facts of nature—are beautiful too. Do they possess beauty of themselves as they possess colour or tone or passion? Does nature of herself possess beauty as what the philosophers call a tertiary quality, as she possesses so called secondary qualities? That is the question of my discourse, and the answer which I am about to give is that she does not, and that nature and works of nature possess beauty only so far as they are converted into works of art. The thesis is not a new one; all that I can hope to do is by illustration and the marshalling of commonplaces to clear away some perplexities in my own mind, and perhaps in yours, and present the case for the conclusion which I shall invite you to consider.

For the path of the inquiry is beset with contradictions. Nature is thought to be superior to art, and is indeed the fountain at which all art renews its inspiration. Cézanne who is considered to be the parent of modern painting (which to the lover of nature seems so often and so far to diverge from nature herself, to give us rather the painter's mind as it reacts upon nature) preached the need of keeping contact with nature. And yet if nature is above art, art is itself a part of nature, and is not itself artificial, though its works are. In one sense nature is above art; in another art is above nature, at least above non-human nature. Now if a Greek philosopher turned for his authority to

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 13th April, 1927.



Homer, an English one turns to Shakespeare ; and it is inevitable—you would almost resent it if I did not—that I should quote Polixenes and Perdita ; and not merely for the delight of the passage, which would be its own sufficient excuse, but, since we are engaged in scientific inquiry, because of the truth of it. Polixenes has asked Perdita to suit his and Camillo's ages with flowers of winter and Perdita has said that there are none to be had but 'carnations and streaked gillyvors, which some call nature's bastards,' and she does not care to grow them in her garden.

*Pol.* 'Wherefore, gentle maiden,  
Do you neglect them ?

*Perd.* For I have heard it said,  
There is an art which in their piedness shares  
With great creating nature.

*Pol.* Say there be ;  
Yet nature is made better by no mean,  
But nature makes that mean : so, oe'r that art,  
Which you say adds to nature, is an art  
That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry  
A gentler scion to the wildest stock,  
And make conceive a bark of baser kind  
By bud of nobler race : this is an art  
Which does mend nature—change it rather ; but  
The art itself is nature.

*Perd.* So it is,

*Pol.* Then make your garden rich in gillyvors  
And do not call them bastards'

Perdita persists :

'I'll not put  
The dibble in earth to set one slip of them.'

Yet she offers them flowers, among them

'The marigold that goes to bed with the sun,  
And with him rises weeping ;'

and yet the marigold she describes is not the marigold she picks. And when in the exquisite words she deplores that she has not spring flowers :

'O, Proserpina,  
For the flowers now that, frightened, thou lett'st fall  
From Dis's waggon ! daffodils,  
That come before the swallow dares, and take  
The winds of March with beauty ; violets, dim,  
But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes,

Or Cytherea's breath; pale primroses,  
That die unmarried, ere they can behold  
Bright Phoebus in his strength—a malady  
Most incident to maids—bold oxlips and  
The crown-imperial; lilies of all kinds,  
The flower-de-luce being one;

she forgets that the actual flowers she would give for the most part are and do none of the things she says they are and do. She has given away her case against the gillyvors, and unknown to herself turned artist, while upholding nature. Inconsistent indeed; but why should we wish her otherwise? It is, to use her own words, a malady most incident to maids; and which of us is not inconsistent? Certainly not nature herself. We pay for inconsistency cheaply if we learn from Perdita's enchanted speech that the flowers she truly loves are the flowers she creates with the artist's eye.

'Nature I loved,' says Landor, 'and next to nature Art.' Perhaps like Perdita the nature he loved first was but art which he called nature. And perhaps Shakespeare has taught us the real truth upon this matter through Perdita's lips; could we hear truth from sweeter ones? It would not be so strange if it were so, for through another of his women, Rosalind, talking to Orlando in the forest about the measurement of time, he anticipated the strict psychological discussion of this subject by James Ward in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

That is one tangle to obstruct our path. Another is the time-old antinomy of imitation. On the one side we hear that art imitates nature; on the other that the more successfully it imitates nature the worse art it is. We may not smile at an imaginary 'imbroglio'<sup>1</sup> and pass on by another path, for the way of understanding lies through the tangle, and the other path we choose is not the path of art. The truth is that there is in all art imitation and there is in all art illusion. Its imitativeness of nature is its truth to nature; its illusoriness, a more difficult matter, lies in this, that the material of art carries through the artist's skill qualities which it has not itself.

Imitation of nature means the expression of nature and not the mimicry of it. When Aristotle said that poetry imitates nature, he meant, as Butcher explains, that poetry behaves as nature behaves that it represents nature, if I may dare to introduce the unavoidable

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Richards' word for such tangles in his *Principles of Literary Criticism*. London, 1925.

but controversial word, representation. Everyone knows that he added that poetry was truer than history, because it seized the essence of nature. Whether there can be pure history or pure mimicry, in either case without art, may be doubted. Yet there are approximations, like the verbatim report of a speech in parliament, even if that speech be itself a work of art. Such imitation is skilful indeed but it is not fine art. The parliamentary debate in Mr. Hardy's *Dynasts*, if it could be taken apart from its setting in the rest of the work, comes perilously near to history. And pure mimicry, as in broadcasting, is not art. Plato, who, though himself one of the greatest of artists, wrote as a moral reformer, was so much outraged by the fear of mimicry that he expelled from his state all drama except where it imitated or represented noble characters in their noble moments. Yet the example of drama is apt to mislead. For drama on the stage is a mixed art of poetry and acting, as opera is a mixed art of music and acting. Actors are real persons themselves and by dress and gesture they imitate the persons they stand for. But we must remember that the persons speak and their words are art; and that in their acts they act according to the passion they portray but not in mere mimicry of it. So that Hamlet, to turn once more to Shakespeare for our guidance, Hamlet who says that playing is to hold the mirror up to nature, warns the players also "that in the very torrent, tempest, and as I may say, whirlwind of your passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness"—to say it in cold and how much inferior words, they are not to give us the casual spluttering and frenzy of passion but passion as a vital and essential movement of character. And we have further to remember, though the point trenches upon the next problem of artistic illusion, that the actors, however much they simulate their personages in dress or manner, are not mistaken for those persons. We fancy we see and hear St. Joan, but we know all the same that she is Miss Thorndike.

And yet the boundaries of mimicry and artistic imitation are hard to draw. It is legitimate in art to reproduce in the chosen medium the very features of what is represented. Witness in poetry him whom Mr. Godley called 'poluphloisboious Homer of old'; and the familiar rendering of natural sounds and actions in words, which sing or limp or hiss. He would be a bold man who would exclude from art the song of the bird in *Siegfried*, or



When Ajax, strives some rock's vast weight to throw,  
The line, too, labours and the words move slow ;

or Caponsacchi's loathing of Guido in his call to Judas imagined as meeting Guido :

Kiss him the kiss, Iscariot ! Pay that back,  
That smatch of the slaver blistering on your lip.

All that we can say is that the artist in such imitations nears the danger line, of sacrificing fidelity to nature to mimicry of her ; that those imitations are of greater art which suggest than those which imitate for the delight of imitation ; that there is better art in

Where the merry bells ring round  
And the jocund rebecks sound ;

than in

The moan of doves in immemorial elms ;

and still more than in this deliberately imitative (as well as alliterative) passage from *Rejected Addresses* :

Lo ! from Lemnos limping lamely  
Lags the lowly lord of fire.

The truth of the matter seems to be that art must have some subject matter and that its art depends upon how that subject is handled. I must not anticipate what is more properly mentioned when I speak of landscape. But I suppose that even the Post-impressionist painters who, in Mr. Roger Fry's words, 'do not seek to imitate form, but to create form . . . to make images which by their closely knit unity of texture, shall appeal to our disinterested and contemplative imagination . . . the logical extreme of (whose) method would undoubtedly be the attempt to give up all resemblance to natural form and to create a purely abstract language of form—a visual music ;'<sup>1</sup> even they have some subject and are giving us the truth of something, which in the largest sense is nature, though the greater part of it may be invention—that their vision is at least founded in the reality of things, at least as much as mathematics is. And I hesitate to go beyond the plastic arts or poetry and speak of music, because of my ignorance. But even the most purely formal music has, I imagine, some subject, though the subject may be hard to distinguish from the texture of sounds ; that it is not mere dexterous weaving of

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by F. Rutter in *Evolution in Modern Art*. London, 1926. P. 80.

notes but like all other art has a purpose and is inspired by passion. The great distinction of music which led Pater to call it the ideal of all arts would, I submit, be this, that subject and medium are in it so intimately fused that we dare not separate the two even in our thoughts. While in the other arts that separation is possible in thought, though in the greatest productions not in fact; and just because of this it is possible to raise the useless and hopeless question whether art derives its value from the subject or the manner; to the confusion of our ideas and the embroilment of art and ethics.

So exiguous, but that exiguous important, is the yield of this famous dictum that art imitates nature, when it is sifted. Perhaps the alleged illusion of art may yield no more—the dictum that the more it aims at illusion the worse the art. For it is one thing that art should contain an element of illusion (which is true); and another that it aims at illusion (which is false). It is this latter belief which values a portrait if you mistake it for the reality, if its eyes follow you with reproach or approval from each point of view as you move, just as each guilty soul in a congregation thinks the sermon directed upon him; if the painting makes you move to pluck and smell the painted flower; or if a painted landscape seems, as Ruskin quotes, a window through which you see the actual scene. Ruskin has not words of scorn enough for the painters of the post-Raphaelite time who in their itch for simulation of parts of nature forfeit the truth of the whole. And yet he cites also the words of Dante in praise of the scenes wrought in a marble floor which seemed so real, that ‘the living appeared living and the dead appeared dead.’<sup>1</sup> The solution of the difficulty does not lie far off. The artist seeks not to delude the spectator into mistaking his picture for a living thing or actual man, but to portray reality faithfully under the conditions of his material, as that reality is conceived by him. To this end he exerts his art: that nothing shall be wanting to his work, or present in it, which shall dim its truth. So considered, the truer the art, the more real the work of art seems, the higher art it is and not the worse. All readers of Mr. Berenson’s books on Renaissance painters are familiar with the stress he lays on tactile values; how in comparison with Giotto’s figures which look solid and planted firmly on the ground, even the lovely panels of Duccio in the altar-piece

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Painters*, III., 20-21; Pt. IV., Ch. 2. 5 (*Purgatorio*, XII., 64).

intended for the cathedral of Siena appear inferior, are rather of the nature of illustrations of the New Testament story than truly decorative, by which adjective he designates in a peculiar use of the word the highest art. Neither Giotto nor Duccio aimed to produce illusion, and the lesser man is less not because he is less skilful at illusion but because the truth he aimed at he presented less completely true.

It is none the less true that art contains illusion, and is indeed rooted therein, though it does not try to deceive the spectator into taking its product for the natural object that it means. The illusion lies not in the intention of art but in the use it makes of its material, which it endows with qualities the material as such does not possess. The marble lives and the bronze breathes, as Virgil said. The heavy shaft of the nave springs from the ground to support the vault. The flat picture even when painted 'thin' is voluminous. Even words when used artistically have an effect in their combination which they have not in their bare use in ordinary practical speech. Ruskin demurs, and urges this feature to be only the accident of pictures with their two dimensions; that the statue being three dimensional is not indeed a man but is actually the form of a man. I cannot with all deference accept the plea; the statue has really the *form* of a man, but has it the form of a *man*? Only through the imputation of the artist. It looks human, endowed with spirit; and the endowment is not an added suggestion but fused with the stone, so that the stone looks penetrated with life and mind which it is not, any more than Giotto's figures are heavy though by force of the great art they look so, as ice to the eye looks smooth. The suggestions of the work are not free ideas but in the language of the psychologists are tied. I know that to a doctrine of great authority the work of art is but a state of mind: and I regret that I have not time to consider this doctrine, nor even to ask whether if it were true in the sense of its author it would make any difference to our present purpose. Further, I am perforce omitting music, and can only plead for pardon, in assuming to be true of it what seems to be true of the other fine arts. I am content to appeal to the facts of art unclarified, or unpolluted, by ulterior considerations of metaphysics, for which æsthetics rather supplies data than depends upon it; and to insist that art is physical material fused by art with qualities which the material does not possess. Poetry, I know, is thought, even by Wordsworth, to consist



of pictures in the mind or thoughts. I plead that it consists of spoken words with their meanings on which the poet operates as the sculptor operates upon his stone, sometimes effecting his result by their mere sounds, sometimes more palpably using the words for their meanings, that is the things they stand for, distilling a delight from the chemical combination of metre and rhythm and mere music with thoughts and images ; and my plea is not new but old. If this is true, a work of art is such not because of what its material is but of what it is not ; and therein lies the illusion or art, whereby it attains its truth as art, because that illusion is its instrument and not its intention. We never think the great statue a living man ; but for all that we see it human. Another exiguous yield of our inquiry, and yet perhaps significant.

## II.

Perdita's ecstasy about the flowers has suggested to us that perhaps nature is beautiful to us only if we see it with the artist's eye. And our discussion of imitation and illusion has suggested to us that art wins us by illusion to the vision of truth. And the two lessons seem opposed to one another. The first says, beauty in nature is not mere nature. The second says be true to nature if you would attain beauty in art. In reality they tend both in the one direction. For if we ask ourselves what truth to nature is, we discover that truth itself is but a kind of art. Even scientific truth never gives us nature as she really exists but only our selection from it. The laws of nature which science discovers are but artificial products of our thinking, which observation verifies, and when we make truth the test of art we are making one form of art the test of another. The difference between fine art and science is in the main this, that the man of science keeps his personality out of the subject which he is examining, while the artist introduces into his material characters which come from his personality, and are his vision of the subject of his art. The law of gravitation, whatever form it assumes, does not describe the relations of bodies as they are coloured by the mind of Newton or Einstein. But the flowers that fell from Dis's waggon, as they are presented in Perdita's words, are coloured with characters which are indeed significant of the flowers, but are imported into the words which she uses to describe the flowers. This is the illusion of art. Shakespeare's magic is so unequalled because the personality which he imports

touches us all. The artist imputes himself to his material, but impersonally. The scientist does not impute himself at all.

And another difference follows from this. Both the man of science and the artist seek for the significant in nature. But the first aims at the general; the second is concerned with the particular. The first selects from particulars their general character; the second takes an individual thing and represents it in its significance, and brings to other minds his own delight in the thing. Consequently his subject matter may be a fleeting and impermanent aspect of nature, and he may by his art make it permanent—

Love remembers how the sky was green,  
And how the grasses glimmered faintest blue;  
How saintlike grey took fervour; how the screen  
Of cloud grew violet; how thy moment came  
Between a blush and flame;

says Meredith in the *Hymn to Colour*.

The lesson we seem to learn is, if you seek why nature is beautiful seek first why art is so. The earlier writers like Burke and Kant began in their inquiries into the sublime and the beautiful with nature, leaving art comparatively in the background. It was part of Burke's originality of mind that instead of seeking these qualities in things themselves, as Hume found beauty to lie in the utility of objects, like a house, to us, or in their excellent proportions and adaptation, as an animal's beauty, he sought their origin in the human passions which they set working in us—in the 'delight' we have when the feeling of danger and the instinct of self-preservation as with sublime or the feeling of tenderness and its instinct as with beautiful objects is excited in our minds. In basing his account of the æsthetic feelings upon the fascination of terrible objects and the attraction of lovable ones, Burke is in a manner anticipating ways of approach familiar to ourselves. But just because he thinks in the first instance of natural beauty or sublimity and not of art, he indicates ingredients in æsthetic perception rather than indicating its root in the impulse of creation. Kant who followed Burke in appealing to the mental process concerned in æsthetic judgment went much further and made the first step in the analysis of our sense of beauty when he declared that a beautiful object at once stimulates our understanding of it and sets going our imagination in harmony with our understanding; or as we

might say in less technical phrase—supplements our perception of the object with characters woven into its texture by the plastic imagination. Unfortunately, exceeding Burke in penetration, he neglected to assign a cause for this harmonious operation of the two faculties in question, and to seek it, on the model of Burke's reference to primitive instincts, in some natural instinct of man, in the constructive impulse which in art looks us in the face but in natural beauty is hidden from us, though perhaps it exists there also.

Both these great men preferred nature to art in their reflections. When we turn to Ruskin we find him defining beauty in this way : 'any material object which can give us pleasure in the simple contemplation of its outward qualities without any direct and definite exertion of the intellect, I call in some way or in some degree beautiful.'<sup>1</sup> And he urges rightly that we can no more ask why we derive such pleasure from some objects and not from others than why we like sugar or dislike wormwood. Beauty is the beauty of material or natural objects as such and it is constantly spoken of by him as merely an element in the æsthetic appreciation. The account is saved partly by its vagueness, and partly by its insistence on the contemplative origin of beauty as distinct, I suppose, from practical enjoyment. But it is just this saving notion of contemplation which is unexplained. When we try to think what this contemplation of a natural object is, we are driven back upon artistic appreciation. For mere contemplation of natural objects may be shared with us by the animals. The cow contemplates the green meadow and the female nightingale the song of the male, and these objects doubtless give them pleasure, but hardly the sense of beauty. These pleasures, it is true, are but the harbingers of practical delights. But when then do we have contemplation of objects ? Does the male nightingale contemplate his own song ? If he did he would be an artist, but alas ! he is only a wooer. The very question is when does the material object cease to give practical and begin to give contemplative pleasure ? The answer can only be when it is apprehended artistically. No natural objects are contemplated unpractically until they become quasi-works of art.

Suppose then we invert the procedure and asking first under what conditions the sense of beauty arises in art, then inquire whether



nature is not beautiful, with appropriate qualifications, for artistic reasons.

I cannot follow Burke and Kant and inquire into the origin of our sense of artistic beauty. I believe it arises because art satisfies our impulse to construction, when that impulse instead of being practical as in mere craft, becomes contemplative and handles the material, paints or stone or sounds or words, for their own sake.<sup>1</sup> But there is no time to develop the statement. It is enough for my purpose to recall summarily some of the features which the work of such contemplative construction exhibits. As before I am thinking of the plastic arts and poetry and leave music apart, not because I think it unamenable to the same treatment but because I have not considered it enough. Part of what follows has been already implied or even said above.

The work of art then, in the first place, depends upon the artist as well as upon the material and derives half its meaning from him. For the artist we may substitute the spectator who learns through the work of art to view it with the eyes of its producer. It effects a blending of the physical object with the artist's mind in the only sense in which that blending is intelligible. The mere marble visage, so fashioned as a physical object, remains such without artist or spectator ; but its

frown

And wrinkled lip and sneer of cold command  
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read  
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,  
The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed.

Apart from the person to whom they tell the message, they are but physical lines on a physical block. I do not mean any strange and incomprehensible mixture of matter and mind ; but simply that the matter bears its meaning only for a contemplating mind which by fashioning it has imported into the material characters derived from the mind, so that the stone looks the part imputed to it. And if I say that the painted canvas contains and expresses the sentiment of its painter I do not mean that it portrays his emotion but that his emotion is contained in the form of the picture ; and that the sight of the picture by another person will throw him into much the same attitude

<sup>1</sup> See *Art and Instinct* (Herbert Spencer Lecture). Oxford, 1927.

as the painter's. Still less do I mean that the picture or the poem exists merely in order to embody emotion and convey it to others ; it exists to be a material combination of pigments or words, arising doubtless from emotion and communicating it, but only directly expressing emotion when as in certain poems the description is directly of those emotions, as in love poetry or some dramatic poetry. I mean only what Mr. Roger Fry means when he says in his latest book of the artistic problem : ' that process of incorporating any given visual datum in a spiritual whole is what I endeavour to describe by the words interpretation or transformation.'<sup>1</sup>

Second, that in so far as the artist is thus blended with his material by transforming it, the material acquires from him characters which it does not itself possess. This is the illusion which makes artistic reality, on which I need not now further dwell.

Next that in the work of art form and subject or as others prefer to say form and content are so unified and blended as to be inseparable. As the subject varies so does the form. As the point is more easily felt than explained I will follow my method of indication by means of more or less familiar quotations, and set side by side two passages dealing with the same situation but spoken by persons of different character to persons of different character, the one passage from a supreme poet and the other from a poet of high rank, and leave you to note the contrast of form with the contrast of matter. The first is the dying words of the dreamer Hamlet to his friend, who wishes to die with him :

If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,  
Absent thee from felicity awhile,  
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,  
To tell my story.

The other is the words of the wise old Pope to the strong priest-lover :

Once more  
Work, be unhappy but bear life, my son.

I add only that it may be, as I said before, that the content, the subject matter is, in certain forms of art, nothing but the form itself. Form and content may be not merely unified but identical as the art approaches music.

<sup>1</sup> *Transformations*. London, 1926. P. 42.

And last, though I do not pretend to exhaust the notes of art, that the parts, both those which are given and those which are imputed, are so compounded as to present a whole, in which nothing is wanting and nothing redundant. A good illustration of the difficulties which must be overcome in order to satisfy this test may be found in the dramatic unity of *Antony and Cleopatra* where the constant change of scene and persons from Egypt to Italy might have damaged the work of an inferior artist.

Nature includes humanity as well as physical nature, but the problem of the relation of art to nature is most sharply accentuated when we deal with landscape, as it is rendered in painting or poetry. We find there the notes which I have described, and in a marked degree the blending in the artist's landscape of nature herself and the sentiment of the artist. Modern or romantic landscape has become increasingly impressionist. The extent to which the artist's mind is to predominate in art is as yet undetermined ; we still experiment in the problem of combining fidelity or truth with impression. The two elements remain and the greater the artist, the more completely as with Cézanne he strives (I am not competent to judge with what success) to reconcile the two demands. To quote Mr. Fry again : ' the transmutation of the visual values of natural objects into plastic and spatial value is the great problem of most modern artists.' Nothing is more instructive in this topic than to read the chapters of *Modern Painters* in which Ruskin sketches the treatment of landscape in ancient, mediæval, and modern painting and poetry : how in Greek art the landscape was no more than the background to human persons and nature was viewed either as illustrative of persons, as in the famous comparison of Nausicaa to the straight tree at Delphi, or else in its utility to man ; how the mediæval artist painted certain things with loving fidelity, especially to colour, but narrowed his vision to specified objects for their symbolic value ; how in modern art nature becomes suffused with human sentiment or passion. These are the shiftings of human interest, from what is more palpably objective or impersonal to what is more palpably personal. And the problem has become acuter as men have become more interested in themselves and their subjective impressions. Under all these variations of the centre of gravity of the artistic compound, the elements of reality and idealisation are still to be traced.

The landscape painted or sung in words is but a step removed from the landscape which we see and find beautiful. That step brings me to the conclusion which I have been insinuating all along, that the nature we find beautiful is not bare nature as she exists apart from us but nature as seen by the artistic eye ; that every landscape, as Mr. Santayana says in his book on the *Sense of Beauty*,<sup>1</sup> 'to be seen has to be composed.' We find nature beautiful not because she is beautiful herself but because we select from nature and combine as the artist does more plainly when he works with pigments. Coleridge's saying

O Lady, we receive but what we give,  
And in our life alone does nature live,

goes too far. Nature does live for herself without us to share her life. But she is not beautiful without us to unpiece her and repiece. We do this in the contemplation to which Ruskin referred our feeling for beauty, which contemplation is but the artist's function at its most primitive stage. For just as few men have the religious passion, but most men feel the presence of something which is deity, in art while only the few are initiate, there are many wand-bearers. Yet these many are not pretenders as the Greek proverb seems to suggest. For the wand-bearers are the indiscriminate herd of us who find nature beautiful and do not even know that we are unconscious artists. It is not so strange that to the young Wordsworth nature was all in all, and that the sounding cataract haunted him like a passion. He was fledging himself for the poet's flight. The rest of us never get beyond that use of the constructiveness (which as employed about the artistic medium is art) which consists in feeling nature's beauty. Not all of us even do this ; for to some nature is not so much beautiful as pleasant or healthful or full of bounty : they are nearer to the Greek view of landscape as Ruskin describes it.

Small wonder that we do not know that we are artists unawares. For the appreciation of nature's beauty is unreflective ; and even when we reflect, it is not so easy to recognise that the beauty of a sunset or a pure colour is a construction on our part and an interpretation. Yet the artist's exercise of his gift is also in the main unconscious or unreflective ; and perhaps even the artist finds it difficult to reflect upon his art and recognise its real character.

<sup>1</sup> London, 1896. P. 133.



I cannot do better than quote a paragraph from Mr. Richards :<sup>1</sup> ' The fact that roses, sunsets, and so forth are so often found to present harmonious combinations of colour may appear a little puzzling. . . . But the vast range of close gradations, which a rose petal, for example, presents, supplies the explanation. Out of all these the eye picks that gradation which best accords with the other colours chosen. There is usually some set of colours in some harmonious relation to one another to be selected out of the multitudinous gradations which natural objects in most lightings present ; and there are evident reasons why the eye of a sensitive person should, when it can, pick out those gradations which best accord. The great range of different possible selections is, however, of importance. It explains the fact that we see such different colours for instance when gloomy and when gay, and thus how the actual selection made by an artist may reveal the kind and direction of the impulses which are active in him at the moment of selection.'

The delight we take in purity of colours or tones is another illustration of unconscious artistic vision. Pure colours and tones do not exist in nature in isolation. They have to be selected from the colours or tones into which they grade. Even pure notes do not exist, and still less pure tones without overtones. Pure colours or tones suggest their own purity, their contrast with their surrounding fringe of experiences, their refinement from dross. Of this any one may satisfy himself who is aware of the strange beauty of a simple tone on a tuning fork, unlike the pleasure from a musical note. Such a pure experience is a compound one, and owes its beauty to its artistic or artificial suggestions.

One more illustration of the silent constructive artistry of natural beauty and I have done. The beauty of the human face or form is often at least in part a pleasure due to the dim stirring of the impulse of sex, and where this happens is not a contemplative but a practical pleasure. The disinterested contemplation of a beautiful face of either sex carries with it suggestions of character or of characteristic or at any rate significant form.

When we have recognised this we cease to think that in the more difficult case of lovely scenery, Grasmere or Loch Lomond seen from

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Literary Criticism*, p. 155.

Tarbet, nature is beautiful of herself. She is so rather because of the significant line or, where we yield to the pathetic fallacy, because of the response of the landscape to a mood which selects from nature the shapes and colours that suit that mood. It is the mute Keats or Wordsworth or the numb Turner within us which makes these scenes lovely, though our lips shall never and could never speak a poem nor our minds direct our hands to use the brush.

If the recognition of beauty in nature is in the end artistic in character, we can now see easily enough how it differs from art. The creative artist, who alone is called artist, and rightly so, fashions his material to his purpose, and the formed material is something which he has to make to carry his artistic purpose. Making is more than practice, for practice terminates upon its object, as when I strike an enemy or pay a compliment to a friend. Making creates a new object or at least creates a form. And artistic making goes also beyond technical craft. The builder makes a house for its useful purpose. But the architect who seeks to make the house beautiful has over and above the needs of utility to consider the composition of his stones and bricks and other material for their own sakes.<sup>1</sup> The poet operates with words as words and not as mere instruments for action : and the painter's pigments are his language in the same sense. And the artist has to manipulate his material so that it shall become beautiful.

Now in nature the material is already present, the gift of nature. He who finds nature beautiful does not manipulate with chisel or brush or voice the material he uses, he makes it beautiful by selection and composition and, if need be, imaginative addition. In this way like the artist he imputes his mind to nature. But he needs no skill but that of his imagination. The hardest part of the artist's work is done, the execution or technique by which he works out his creative impulse into reality. The artist reacts to the subject which inspires him by moulding his chosen medium to suit his impulse and that material is stone or words and even when he creates drama, his material is not mere men but the dramatic speech and acts of men. But the material for natural beauty is actual trees and animals and lakes and men. There is no medium chosen by convention, a word I use without disrespect still less for belittlement, for nature according to the thought of Polixenes herself

<sup>1</sup> See further on this, "Art and Instinct."

imposes the convention. These actual real things the admirer of nature moulds to suit his imagination, and makes of the landscape a composition ; makes the marigold go to bed with the sun and with him rise weeping ; makes of a human form an athlete or even sees him as a Greek disc-thrower or spearbearer. For though this last is but one of the ways in which we make a composition out of natural objects, some part may even be assigned in our judgment of natural objects to the influence of familiar works of art.

## SHAKESPEARE AND THE ARTS.<sup>1</sup>

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### I.

“**H**E wanted Art.” This pithy dismissal of Shakespeare’s claim to be an artist occurs in Ben Jonson’s private Note-book, the *Discoveries*, where Shakespeare and many others are incisively characterized. Jonson also wrote the magnificent verse tribute to Shakespeare prefixed to the First Folio ; and no one has ever said anything greater or more worthy about him than the line in which it culminates : ‘ He was not of an age but for all time.’ He undoubtedly meant it ; but he could also undoubtedly have described Shakespeare’s infirmities, of which he was exceedingly well aware, had a public tribute been the occasion. So he reserved for his private note-book the concise negation I have quoted. Jonson was thinking, of course, of artistry in drama ; and in the mouth of a dramatist whose own technique was as much less inspired than Shakespeare’s as it was more studied and elaborate, his dictum is astonishing enough. But we can at least see what Jonson meant, and even in some degree justify his words. Shakespeare’s art was, at any rate, not of that thoroughgoing exacting kind which makes a Flaubert or a Keats ‘ fill every rift with ore ’ ; we can often see when, as Dr. Johnson said of the close of *Measure for Measure*, Shakespeare ‘ wanted to finish his play.’ And though one kind of art does not always or very often go with another, it is worth while asking whether this aloofness from the artistic temperament in his proper art was or was not accompanied by a similar aloofness from it in his dealings with the other arts ; and I propose to take Jonson’s phrase as the starting point of a brief consideration of the question,

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 9th February, 1927.



what Shakespeare made of those varied wonders which have, since the days of paleolithic man, come about when men apply chisel or brush to marble or bronze or canvas. I might have added, when they win a 'concord of sweet sounds' from viol, lyre, or voice. But music is another, and a more familiar, inquiry, and I here leave it aside. Did Shakespeare, then, show any vivid interest in the graphic and plastic arts, or in architecture, any knowledge of their processes, any insight into their laws? I am not asking whether he was one of those poets of the studio who, like Théophile Gautier or Dante Rossetti, use verse to compete with the chisel or the brush. Those attempts to capture the effects of one art by the instruments of another, like the author of *Émaux et Camées*, belong to the age of Romanticism which culminated in Wagner's grandiose fusion of all the arts in the music-drama of Bayreuth. I am merely asking whether he shows the kind of interest in the arts which is betrayed by Homer when he turns aside, through several hundred lines of the *Iliad*, to describe the forging of the wonderful Shield of Achilles, with its inlaid intaglios of scenes from the daily lives of early Greece; <sup>1</sup> or by Dante, when he tells us of the bas-reliefs which lined the inner side of the path which wound up the Mountain of Purgatory; or by Milton, when, with a curious blend of Hellenic enthusiasm and Puritan animus he made his fallen Fiends meet for debate in a Greek temple. In none of these cases need we think of the poet's unmistakeable interest in art as merely individual or exceptional; each simply participated to the full in the artistic culture of his day. The *Iliad*, we now know, was the product of an age rich with the treasures of the brilliant civilization of Crete. The painter and architect Giotto and the musician Casella were intimate friends of Dante, and were both enshrined in his great poem.<sup>2</sup> And Milton had grown up in the London of the art-loving Charles, and could value the noble façade of Whitehall, as the passage in question shows, on other grounds than as the scene of that art-lover's appropriate doom.

Did Shakespeare's England offer in any similar degree the stimulus of an artistic milieu? To a much larger extent than is commonly thought, it did. If Shakespeare 'wanted art,' it was not because art was by any means altogether wanting in England. Sixteenth-century

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, Book XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Both were, as Milton says of Casella, 'met in the milder shades of Purgatory,' *Purg.* II. 91, and XI. 95.

England was richer in art products than any previous age. Only in certain minor arts was she as yet creative herself. But she drew upon the art-wealth of the two most art-gifted peoples of Europe—Italy under the earlier Tudors, Flanders under the later. The Italian Renaissance, in its art aspect, may be formulated as an attempt to make every part of life æsthetically beautiful to the senses. Ethical beauty was of less account, and was less uniformly pursued. But art was used to decorate and condone its infractions. The cloak which covered sins was finely embroidered. Murder, if not already a 'fine Art,' as De Quincey called it, was carried out with choice artistic accompaniments. Benvenuto Cellini, the typical rogue-genius of the age, was a gifted proficient in both branches of the profession. If he had occasion to stab an enemy, or even a friend, he did it with a dagger beautifully chased; if to poison them, he commended the liquor to their lips in a chalice of exquisite design.

## II.

The tide of the Italian Renaissance flowed north into France, and thence into England. But it underwent here, and among the Germanic peoples generally, notable modifications of character, partly explained by the swift acceptance, precisely among these peoples, of the Protestant Reformation. It is impossible here to deal with this complex historical evolution except in the broadest diagrammatic formulas. But it is roughly true to say that in England each of the two movements modified the other, producing, as the result, a main current of compromise and accommodation, with eddies of extreme opinion on either side. The main current was the scholarly Anglicanism of Elizabethan society, which might be defined as the Renaissance *minus* Paganism and Protestantism *minus* Puritanism; the extremes on either side were, the atheists, like Marlowe and Raleigh, and the far more formidable and vocal Calvinist party in the Church.

The bearing of this close alliance of Protestant with Renaissance sentiment upon the fortunes of art in Tudor England was not inconsiderable. The dissolution of the monasteries, though undertaken in the interest of the political, not of the religious, Reformation, released vast treasures of artistic wealth for the benefit of Protestant mansions. Under the settled Tudor government these abodes were at the same time growing rapidly in amenity and beauty; and all over the land,

country houses, nobly and largely planned and adorned, were replacing the feudal strongholds of the past. We know from Harrison's *Description of England*, published during Shakespeare's boyhood (1578), how enormous had been the growth in the luxurious equipment of English homes during the previous generation. The London of some ten years later, in which he settled, was primitive enough in many of what we think prime necessities of civilized life; but it enjoyed many luxuries beyond the reach of persons of the same social rank to-day.<sup>1</sup> Silver plate, for instance, decorated the sideboard of the farm-house, and was by no means strange in the cottage. Tapestries (arras), elaborately worked with stories from legend or the bible, abounded; Lazarus and the prodigal son were favourite subjects. As early as 1558, the year of Elizabeth's accession, a French visitor wrote: 'you will find few houses without them.' Later they began to be replaced by the cheaper painted cloth; both play an indispensable part in the drama; they provide a hiding-place for the eavesdropper, a refuge for persons 'wanted' by the law. Polonius and the king listen 'behind the arras'—'licensed espials'—to Hamlet's talk with Ophelia, Polonius, unluckily for himself, to Hamlet's talk with the queen; Falstaff hides there from the sheriff and his men. And not all the 'arras' was imported from the town of that name. English weavers were cunning in this art no less than in that of song; all through the sixteenth century there was a tapestry factory at Barchester, in Shakespeare's own county. While Elizabethan talk, intrigue, and feasting thus went on, as upon a stage, with a storied background of woven or painted scenery, actual pictures were rather less common. But Henry VIII. had set a splendid fashion by inviting the great painter Hans Holbein to leave to posterity, counterfeit presentments of the men and women about his court; and the fashion by the end of the century had spread from the palace and country house to the well-to-do citizen's house. The pictures of the late and present king of Denmark which Hamlet so trenchantly contrasted were not confined to the palace of Elsinore, and as to miniatures, we are told that the new king's portrait in little fetched a hundred ducats among his obsequious subjects.

In this, as in all questions of custom and manners, Shakespeare's

<sup>1</sup> Many of the following details on the English cultivation of the arts are derived from the chapters on the arts in *Shakespeare's England*.

Denmark is England. Shakespeare's own portrait we know was repeatedly painted, and several of his fellow dramatists are visibly known to us in this way. Collections of pictures were to be found in many noble houses, and the Spanish tyranny in the Netherlands brought Flemish pictures and painters here, in increasing numbers. The palaces of Cecil, and of Shakespeare's friends the earls of Southampton and Essex, were notable for such collections ; while Kenilworth, a few miles from Stratford, was a home of artistic display. London had also its picture-shops, especially the famous one of R. Peake in Holborn. And if England did not yet, or for long afterwards, produce a painter of her own, she was already famed for the ancillary art of engraving. Shakespeare's portrait, painted by a Dutch artist, was engraved by an Englishman. And if we turn from the daily life of the Elizabethans and Jacobeans to their entertainments, we find, in the Masque, something like an anticipation of that union of all the arts which Wagner with far more genius carried out in our day. Dress and scenery and dancing and music and poetry were wrought into those allegorical court shows which we owe chiefly to Ben Jonson and the architect Inigo Jones, master of all the arts that beautify life, and an even greater master of the art of getting his own way.

### III.

We may now turn to consider the question which is the proper theme of this essay : How did Shakespeare react to all this ? In the first place we must not simplify too much. 'Shakespeare' was not a homogeneous personality, uniform throughout his career, whose reaction to a particular kind of stimulus can be defined in a single formula. His life embraced all the range of experience and character which divides the country schoolboy from the famous playwright and poet, friend of courtiers and squire of New Place. And if we propose to interpret his attitude to the arts by his utterances about them, or his literary use of them, we have to consider that his utterances are mostly the utterances of imaginary persons, whose thoughts and opinions he provides, and only occasionally, in the narrative poems and sonnets, his own ; while with this distinction goes another, still more important, between the class of persons for whom these two kind of utterances were respectively designed. In other words there is a sharp cleavage between Shakespeare the playwright, who is writing for a miscellaneous



audience of Londoner playgoers, and the poet, who is addressing a noble patron, with a tolerably manifest design to win the ear and favour of the court. It is certain that these two classes of Shakespeare's work by no means differ only in virtue of the difference between dramatic and narrative or lyric poetry. There are pronounced differences of topic, tone, and ethos, only to be explained by the different character and tastes of the two audiences addressed. The subjects of both *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* are of a kind for which, in the plays, Shakespeare shows unmistakeable repugnance. The entire subject of the *Venus and Adonis* is a woman's attempt, through several hundred lines of brilliant pleading, to win the favours of an unresponsive man; the entire subject of the *Lucrece* is a criminal outrage inflicted upon the person of a noble lady, his hostess, by her husband's friend; the dominant subject of the Sonnets is an older man's idolatrous love for a youth. There is no approach to such situations in the plays. Shakespeare is no doubt peculiarly fond of the kind of fun which lies in a woman's courtship of another woman, in man's disguise; Olivia courting Viola, or Phœbe Rosalind are instinct with the capricious and elusive spirit of romantic comedy; but the motive of such scenes is simply the humour of their mistake. The outrage suffered by Lucrece has no parallel but in *Titus Andronicus*, which is not now regarded as Shakespeare's work at all. While the most eloquent glowing expression of friendship between men, in the dramas, Hamlet's lines to Horatio, has, with all its warmth, a masculine strength and reticence which distinguishes them from the exquisitely phrased sentimentality of the Sonnets. And if the narrative poems now hold their place chiefly because Shakespeare wrote them, while the Sonnets, till the dawn of the nineteenth century suffered neglect and even disdain at the hands of Shakespearean scholarship, it is certain that they entirely succeeded with the aristocratic and cultured audience for which they were meant. The young gentleman at Cambridge who always slept with *Venus and Adonis* under his pillow, was not a solitary eccentric. It is not surprising, then, that the poems differ from the plays also in their more definite appeal to the cultured taste for art. We find, for instance, more detailed and insistent allusion to the paintings (not cheap painted cloth!) with which Elizabethan palaces were adorned, and the poet even lingers over the description while the action stands still. Thus at the very crisis of

the *Lucrece*, the injured lady in her despair bethinks her of a painting on her palace walls of the tragic scenes at the fall of Troy (*R. of L.* 1361, f.), and the poet proceeds to paint it again for our imagination through more than a hundred lines ; very brilliantly and movingly, no doubt, but *Lucrece* meantime is standing by, impatient to hurry out, tell her story, and end her life. Here, it can hardly be denied, Shakespeare injures the economy of his work in order to flatter a pictorial interest, a young noble's taste for pictures. As we shall see, there is nothing like that in the Plays. One of the most curious examples of the use and misuse of painting in the Poems is the imagery in Sonnet XXIV. This is far from being among the finest of the sonnets ; it has some claims to be the very worst. The poet compares himself to a portrait-painter and his beloved to the sitter. The canvas is his heart, on which he has painted his lady's image ; his bosom is the 'shop' in which the picture hangs ; and his lady's eyes the windows of the shop which she looks through. A highly complex, if not confused, situation is thus indicated. We are not concerned here to discuss or elucidate that situation ; merely to suggest that this use of the art of portraiture is not of the kind we should expect from a poet who loved and understood that art, but indicates, on the contrary, one whose concern with it is external and unintelligent, who merely wants material for an ingenious expression of his love, and chooses it in a region likely to appeal to a courtly hearer's tastes.

If we now turn to the Plays, we find, I think, the following three propositions true. First, the use made of the arts is infrequent and on the whole slight ; second, it invariably betrays naïve and unreflective ideas about the nature and purpose of art ; third, it is occasioned and justified by a dramatic purpose, and has a necessary function in the economy of the play. This last point, which only affirms that Shakespeare knew his business as a dramatic poet, would not of course imply that he did not understand or care about art. Great poet as he was, he never, like Goethe in *Tasso*, made a poet the hero of a play ; and if he does introduce a poet, it is not to allow him to expatiate at large upon the principles of poetry as Hamlet is allowed to do upon the principles of play-acting ; on the contrary 'Cinna the poet' comes on only to perform the hapless part of being mistaken by the infuriated mob for the other Cinna, and to be torn in pieces in spite of his desperate cry 'I am Cinna the poet ; I am not Cinna the

conspirator.' But in *Timon of Athens*, both a poet and a painter are really introduced, in their professional quality, bringing specimens of their art to their munificent patron, and even describing them in the language of the connoisseur. I think we are conscious of something un-Shakespearean in an incident of this kind; and in fact *Timon* is held to be a play to which Shakespeare contributed only certain scenes and these the grander and most crucial. Still, even if this scene be his, it complies with the above propositions, for the criterion of excellence in painting recognized by both painter and poet is only the elementary one (invariable in Shakespeare) of being *like*: 'It is a pretty mocking of the life,' says the painter; 'livelier than life,' adds the poet; while these interested offerings of the two artists are intrinsic elements of the plot, as part of the web of flattery, the sudden rupture of which turns Timon into a misanthrope.

But there is another scene, undoubtedly genuine, which stands in far more striking contrast with the tenor of Shakespearean drama, showing a resort to art in drama so astonishing in its daring and beauty as to suggest, at first sight, if it stood alone, that Shakespeare was, after all, of the breed of the studio-poets, of the fraternity of Rossetti and Gautier. The great closing scene of the *Winter's Tale* was moreover deliberately invented by Shakespeare; his original, Greene's novel *Pandosto and Fawnia*, had nothing of the sort; the slandered queen had there died long ago heart-broken, there could be no question of her restoration to the lost daughter and the repentant husband. But Shakespeare would not allow the tragic story to end thus in unavailing regrets; the tragedy had to be resolved in romantic reunion and reconciliation; and the way he took to secure this consummation, we remember, is to keep Hermione secretly alive, for the sixteen years during which Perdita is growing up, in the recesses of the palace, under the care of the devoted Paulina; and then to disclose to the expectant husband and daughter what purports to be a statue of her, moulded and coloured by a renowned Italian artist to the very life. Such a motive might suggest a Shakespeare who actually moved, like Rossetti, in a studio-world between painting and poetry, and had his head full of legends like Don Juan and Pygmalion of statues that come to life and speak. But closer scrutiny dispels, if it ever arose, the notion of a studio-Shakespeare. Not only is the mention here of the famous Italian artist, Giulio Romano, the solitary

mention, in all Shakespeare, of the name of any artist whatever ; but he seems to know exceedingly little either of him or of his art. Giulio Romano is only known as a painter ; not as a sculptor ; Shakespeare makes him author of what was with the Italians a rare monstrosity, a painted statue, and seems to regard this achievement as the height of art. No one then knew that the Greeks were apparently of the same opinion ! But his reason, at least, is non-Greek. It is, as always, the naïve belief that the height of art is reached by a copy of nature exactly like the original. If any artist could surpass this painted statue, it would be one who could make it still more *like*, could make it breathe and move, fill the veins already blue, with pulsing blood, and in fine, make the imaged queen descend, a living woman from her pedestal ; and the illusion is not at once broken even when, at Paulina's cry—

‘Tis time, descend ; be stone no more ; approach,—’

she in fact descends, and her husband tremblingly embraces what he still thinks a magical apparition. But it is clear, just from this naïveté on the side of art, that Shakespeare's interest in the art-side of the matter is of the slightest ; art is merely the raw material for a scene of moving drama, just as the painted statue is itself a fiction. The Shakespeare of the studio is like that feigned statue of Hermione ; he turns, when we approach, into the Shakespeare of nature and breathing life we know.

Very rarely, again, are we allowed to see the splendours of artistry which adorned the chambers of Elizabethan palaces. But, once, such a chamber is described to us in startingly vivid detail,—the ceiling fretted with golden cherubims, the fireplace flanked by winking cupids of silver. But who describes all this ? Not a showman, or a proud host, bent on provoking our admiration or our envy. No, but Iachimo, meaning to convince Postumo that he has won the love of Imogen, by describing to him in the utmost detail the equipment of her bedchamber. Here, as before, as everywhere in the plays, in contrast with the poems, dramatic need, not artistic interest, determines the course he takes. So with the pictures in a yet more famous bed-chamber, the portraits of the late and of the present king, impartially hang side by side in Queen Gertrude's chamber at Elsinore. The form and feature of the dead king live in Hamlet's magical phrases :—



'Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself,  
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;  
A station like the herald Mercury,  
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill'—

Yet the whole significance of it lies in the contrast with the companion portrait of one

'like a mildewed ear  
Blasting his wholesome brother,—

and the 'dagger' of Hamlet's

Ha! have you eyes!  
Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed,  
And batten on this moor?'

One of the most gorgeous descriptions of material splendour in Shakespeare is Enobarbus's account of Cleopatra's barge on her way to present herself and her charms to Antony.

The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne  
Burn'd on the water, etc.<sup>1</sup>

But all this splendour is a part of the plot of the drama, as it was a part of the rare Egyptian's plot to capture the heart of the great triumvir, who never yet said No to any woman. Shakespeare had perhaps seen, as a boy, the splendid show of Kenilworth, in 1575, which expressed with scarcely more disguise the Earl of Leicester's plot to capture the heart of the great queen.

Perhaps we may remember another courtship, in which gold and silver play a significant part, and in which a great lady's hand is the prize. The three caskets among which the suitors of Portia, at Belmont, had to choose, were evidently objects of art, and we must suppose that those of gold and silver were enchased and otherwise made as alluring to 'worldly chusers' as the artist knew how. Each, too, contained a portrait,—a death's head, a blinking idiot, and finally, 'fair Portia's counterfeit.' As elsewhere, the portrait is valued purely by the criteria of realism. 'What demi-god hath come so near creation?' It is full of alluring magic, and yet 'this shadow doth limp behind the substances.' But if Bassanio has made the right choice, he can hardly be held to have chosen like an artist. Nor, clearly, was he meant so to choose. Portia's father, the author of this singular mode of securing his daughter's happiness, was apparently a

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. and Cleop.* II., 2.

sour moralist, bent on teaching the world, at her expense, that all is not gold that glitters ; and the moral of the whole, if it has any, is that 'if you are good and wise, you will prefer the base to the precious, the ugly to the beautiful ;' hardly a motto that you would put up over the entrance of a studio, even in these days when ugliness has largely got the better of its old taboo. The favoured Bassanio finds the portrait, and does full justice to its charms ; but he has succeeded 'because he flouted whatever sense of beauty he possessed ; because he 'chose not by the view.'

As little is there any sign of artistic appreciation of metal-work in general, of the goldsmith's cunning in rings and plate, or the metal-worker's in chased weapons and armour. Gold rings are, it is true, even extravagantly valued by all the leading personages of this very play. The doctor and his clerk will accept absolutely nothing but rings as reward for the pleading which has saved Antonio's life ; Bassanio and Gratiano come near to losing their ladies because they have lost the rings ; and Shylock would not have sold the ring that Leah gave him 'for a wilderness of monkeys.' But here, once more, dramatic and human values are alone concerned. We know too that daggers and coats of mail were often elaborately ornamented. But Shakespeare's daggers are not, like Benvenuto Cellini's, delightful to the eye as well as efficient instruments of the other 'fine art ;' they are glorious only with the golden intaglio of Shakespeare's poetry,—the searing eloquence of the daggers that Hamlet 'speaks' but does not use ; the gout of blood on the blade of the airy dagger which marshals Macbeth the way that he was going, the handle towards his hand. As for suits of armour, they were almost out of use when Shakespeare wrote, but were still to be seen, as they may be to-day, hanging in old halls, like the 'rusty mail in monumental mockery,' to which Ulysses compared Achilles. Benedick 'would go ten miles to see a good armour,' and a young Italian gallant may be suspected of some relish for the artistic aspects of these accoutrements. But Beatrice swears she will eat all the men he kills, and the 'goodness' of the armour which drew him so far may have lain in its efficiency as a shelter from the enemy. What Shakespeare himself rejoiced in, when his verse leaps exultantly, as it sometimes does, in describing armoured men, is not the armour but the men inside it,—

'Their eyes of fire sparkling through sights of steel,'

—a splendid line, repeated elsewhere, which might stand for a symbolic assurance that, for Shakespeare, the human soul, and the eye, its shining gate, meant more than all the fabled wonders of material and graphic artistry. We feel this even in the dazzling picture of young Harry, which Vernon, before Shrewsbury, flashes on the envious eyes of Hotspur. It is dawn, and Hal is freshly armed for battle, the sordid purlieus of Eastcheap are a thousand miles away :

‘I saw young Harry, with his beaver on,  
His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly armed,  
Rise from the ground like feather’d Mercury.’

His men too have golden coats of mail, and Shakespeare lets us have a glimpse of its splendour as it catches the morning sun. But what really concerns him is the morning freshness and ardour of that band of young soldiers

‘Bated like eagles having lately bathed.’

#### IV.

What, then, shall we say by way of final word ? Shakespeare, if we look to intimate understanding, did not stand much nearer to Art than he stood to Puritanism ; and even in the Poems, where he is writing for noble persons, adapting himself to the artistic culture of the court, he does not show more than an external knowledge of it.

He stood further, both from Art and from Puritanism, than Milton. Milton gloried in the storied Gothic windows of King’s College Chapel, whereas Shakespeare was apparently just as indifferent to the glories of Old St. Paul’s and Westminster and the score of wonderful cathedrals scattered over the country, as he was to the theology of Calvin.

But did not Shakespeare, notwithstanding, touch both Art and Puritanism in their ultimate aims ?

Art, we may roughly say, seeks to express soul through colour and form, and rules out the things which are too rudimentary or too abstract to become thus expressive.

Puritanism, to put it no less roughly, sought to make life expressive of soul, and ruled out the feasting senses which, in its view, frustrate that expression.

Shakespeare took the common fictions and stage-shows of his time, and made them so expressive of soul that Dryden, who knew only his writings, not the man, ascribed to him the most universal soul among the sons of men. And if his dealings with Art, as with Puritanism, as we have seen, were few and external, it is no mean part of his lasting glory, and of his lasting service to humanity, to have so enlarged and deepened our apprehension both of goodness and of beauty as both to enrich and to emancipate the Artist, and the Puritan, in us all.

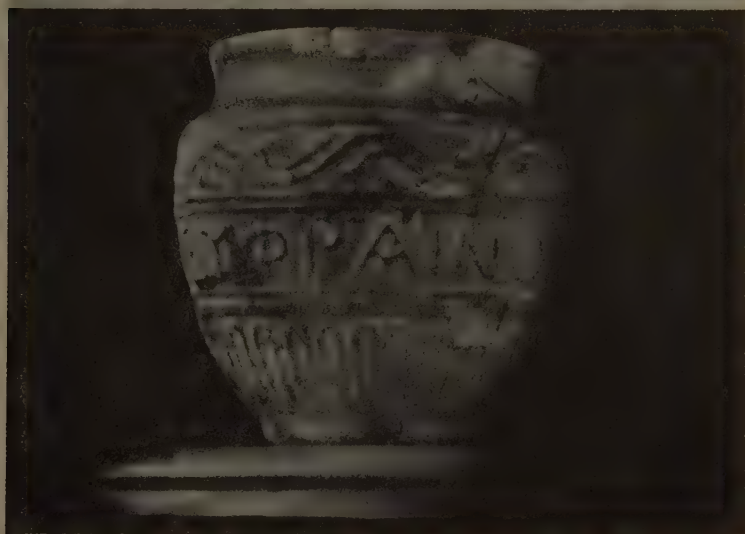
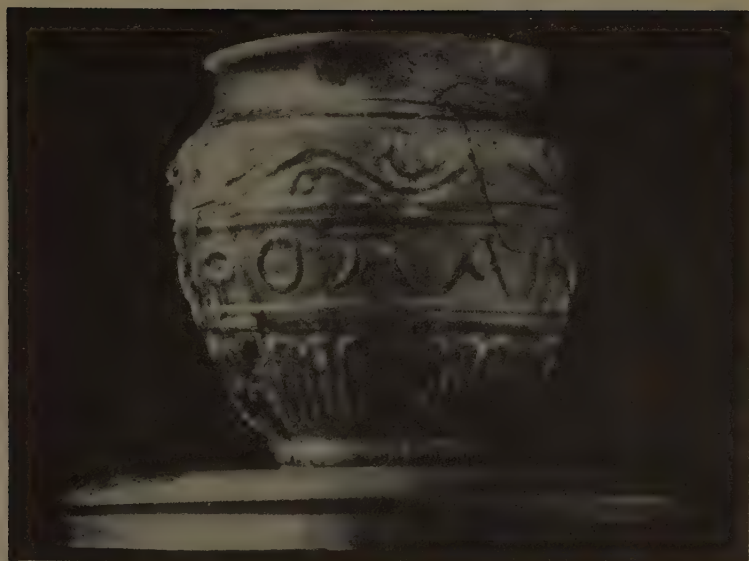


## GLASS CHALICES OF THE FIRST CENTURY.<sup>1</sup>

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.

**S**TUDENTS of the literature of the Christian Church or of the history of its institutions, are aware that there is an uncharted area both in the literature and in the institutional history. Speaking roughly we may say that we do not know what happened between A.D. 60 and A.D. 100. We have no books or papers that we can certainly assign to that period, although we are morally sure that the period was no more destitute of literary activity than the earlier years of the century, or the opening of the second century. That it was a formative period for institutions and for the development of customs might be granted, but that helps us very little to the knowledge of the operation of the evolutionary processes by which the creeds, the ritual, and the orders of the Church were produced. My friend Dr. Salmon, of Dublin, who was the keenest witted man of any with whom I have had the happiness of intercourse, put it this way : the Church went into a tunnel ; we saw it go in and we saw it come out, but what went on inside the tunnel we have no means of determining. That puts the situation very neatly. We are not moving over a plain or across a prairie ; we are passing through a mountain wall, for every tunnel implies a watershed over it, and the longer the tunnel the higher the watershed, and whether high or low, we shall find the streams moving in opposite directions on the two sides of the tunnel. So it becomes important to determine, if possible, what went on in the tunnel. We are at first limited to conjecture ; as I said, we see the train go in, and we see it emerge, we see the prophet go in, and the priest emerge, we see the Agapé go in and the Eucharist emerge ; we see the Lord's Table go in and the Altar

<sup>1</sup> An abstract of a lecture, with lantern illustrations, delivered in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on 15th December, 1926.



1. THE WIEGAND CUP (TWO VIEWS)



emerge ;<sup>1</sup> we see the Church enter the tunnel heavily laden with Eschatology, and we see it come out with a reduced doctrine of the Last Things, which now are little more than the Last Day, the Last Judgment. We see St. Peter and St. Paul stepping off the train at the last station on one side, but whether St. John remained on board we are not able to decide. If he did stay on board, then he underwent some 'train-change' himself along with the rest of the passengers.

It need scarcely be said that such a historical uncharted area as we have suggested lent itself to the formation of legends on the large scale. Who knows what went on ? The legend makers tell us, and have continued to tell us right down to the Middle Ages.

For example, we have the High History of the Holy Grail, which makes continuity for us with the Upper Room at Jerusalem, and with the furniture of the Upper Room. What are we to say of these traditions as to the possible or probable recovery of the actual cup which was used at the Last Supper ?

Everyone, since Tennyson versified the legends for us, knows something of the Holy Grail, of its appearance at Glastonbury in the early days of British Christianity, and its mysterious disappearance. Whence it came from, no man knows with certainty, but the monks said it had been brought from Jerusalem by Joseph of Arimathea, and in accordance with this tradition Tennyson in the Holy Grail makes Percivale say :

"The cup, the very cup from which our Lord  
Drank at the last sad supper with his own.  
This, from the blessed land of Aromat—  
After the day of darkness, when the dead  
Went wandering o'er Moriah—the good saint  
Arimathæan Joseph, journeying brought  
To Glastonbury, where the winter thorn  
Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord,  
And there awhile it bode ; and if a man  
Could touch or see it, he was heal'd at once,  
By faith, of all his ills. But then the times  
Grew to such evil that the holy cup  
Was caught away to Heaven and disappear'd."

<sup>1</sup> Leonardo da Vinci asks me to say that he was following the historical method in painting a restaurant and not a church, and a table rather than an altar ; he had really done his best with the materials at his disposal.



(There are some pretty alliterations in the versification in the second, fourth, and fifth lines, but we are not making a literary study.) At Glastonbury, however, they do not agree with Percivale that the Cup has been caught away to Heaven : it is said to be buried in the hill-side, to which the moderns audaciously give the name of Chalice Hill ; and I noticed lately that as careful an antiquary as Mr. Arthur Weigall regarded the excavation of the Cup as a possibility. One can believe anything at Glastonbury and in the Glastonbury atmosphere.

A little study of the monastic legends which are extant will show that it was only slowly that the story of Joseph of Arimathea settled into form. It has no early attestation, and no internal consistency. To begin with, it had nothing to do with the Last Supper, it was a *dish* that he brought, in which he had collected the blood from the sacred wounds ; then, that it was a *couple of cruets* (they are still to be seen on Somerset monuments), one containing the blood of the Lord, and the other his sweat, or perhaps the water which in the Gospel is adjacent to the blood. Here is the coat of arms assigned to St. Joseph, being a gentleman, in which the two cruets can be observed. Certainly the name Holy Grail connotes blood, for the mediæval Sangreal has been wrongly divided, and should read, not as *San Greal*, but as *Sang Real*, or Royal Blood, which suggests at once that the legend has come across from France, and that there was never anything of the nature of a Grail. It is true, philologically, that the Grail has disappeared, for it never existed. However, we can hardly dispense with so convenient a term, and I propose to retain it, and to show you, if not the actual grail-cup, or one of the actual cups, of the Last Supper, at least one that is so cognate with the table-furniture of the Last Supper, that we shall be able to revive and restore to reality certain incidents of the Supper and of the Betrayal which was associated with it.

Now this is worth doing, and not the least desirable as an investigation, because of the uncertainty and to some extent the inconsistency of the evangelical traditions. The history of the Eucharist has never been written ; what passes for history in ecclesiastical circles has, no doubt, a historical nucleus, if we could get at it, but it is an overlaid nucleus, in which many modern scholars profess to find traces of contemporary Greek or Pagan mysteries. That would be an interesting subject for a lecture, but my task is simpler. I propose to use the

combined methods of archæological and literary research, and to show you, what might even be taken for the headline and title of my discourse, that

*The Holy Grail was a glass cup with a Greek Legend upon it.*

In searching for the substratum of fact which underlies the traditions of the Last Supper, we have the advantage of a remarkable discovery by Dr. Deissmann, with regard to the material of the cup, out of which our Lord drank with his disciples.

There was in the possession of his friend Dr. Wiegand, a glass cup, considered by experts, who know of several similar cups, to be a Sidonian product of the first century. Around this cup there ran, in Greek letters, what appeared to be a drinking legend in which conviviality was encouraged in the words :

‘What are you here for ? be merry.’

A comparison with similar drinking formulæ upon ancient cups, suggests that possibly the complete sentence was,

‘Comrade, what are you here for ? be merry.’

or in Greek, with microscopic variations,

ἐταῖρε, ἐφ’ ᾧ πάρει ; εὐφραίνου.

(we have added accents, etc., which are, of course, wanting in the Greek lettering on the cup).

So far there was nothing to attract the attention of the student. It was not more remarkable than if we were to dig up a cup of British manufacture, and read on its rim the words,

‘We’ll tak’ a cup o’ kindness yet.’

Dr. Deissmann, however, detected that the Greek legend was actually in the text of the Gospel of Matthew (c. xxii., 50), where it formed a part of the conversation between our Lord and Judas, the traitor, the sentence being appropriately shorn of the last word ‘be merry.’ Deissmann pointed out that the oldest translators of the New Testament had rightly made a question out of the sentence, though the Greek was not Attic, and a relative pronoun had the place of an interrogative. On the other hand there were some who failed to understand the interrogation, and in our own days, the Revisers of the

New Testament were pedantic enough to add a word for the supposed sake of clearness, and say

“*Do that for which thou art come.*”<sup>1</sup>

We can the better excuse the Revisers in their failure to recognise that they were dealing with a question expressed in popular Greek, when we notice the difficulty which has been caused by the language to those who have published and explained the glass cups and their legends to which we have referred. Perhaps the most amusing was the translation given by Miss Gisela M. Richter, of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, who explained the legend upon a cup which was in the possession of an American collector (and, since Mr. Curtis' death, has passed to the Museum at Toledo, Ohio), as meaning :

*Be glad over what Paris (was glad),*

to wit, the beauty of women !

Not much better was the translation given by Kisa, in his valuable work *Das Glas in Alterthum* (Vol. iii., p. 721) ; he translates

“*Freue dich so lange du hier bist*” :

as (Enjoy yourself, as long as you are here) ;

in which, again, the interrogative is avoided.

This, then, is Deissmann's discovery ; for, in this matter, I am only a reporter for the Press ; there can be no doubt that he has detected the motive of our Lord's question to Judas, and has justified as historical the incident in Matthew (even if it has no parallel in Luke or Mark). He made, however, the mistake of supposing that Matthew was translating an Aramaic saying of Jesus, and had done

<sup>1</sup> They had, in altering the rendering of the Authorised Version, the authority of one Latin MS., the Armagh Gospels, which read,

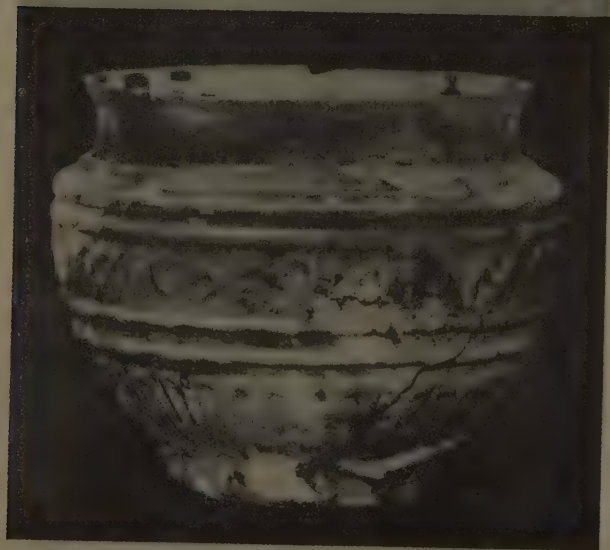
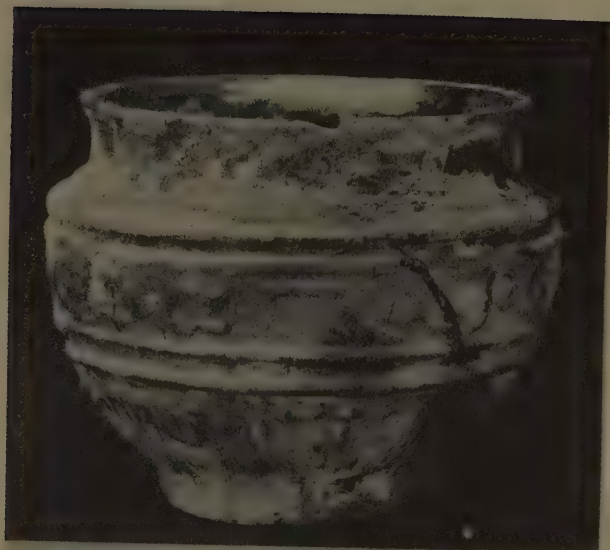
Amice, fac ad quod venisti ;

and I was interested to see that a similar expansion appears to have been behind the commentary of 'Iṣḡadad, the East Syrian father, for he makes the following elucidation :

“Comrade, wherefore art thou come ? that is to say, it is not right for thee to take a false shape, but *do openly that for which thou art come*, because I am a knower of hidden things, and I of my own will have delivered myself up to suffering.”

The combination of Eastern and Western support for the Revisers is interesting ; but it does not seem to be due to Tatian ; if we may judge from the Liège Harmony, which reads :

Vrint, wat sukstu hir ? (Friend, what do you want here ?)



2. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (SHERLOCK) CUP (TWO VIEWS)





the saying into a popular Greek formula. This supposition weakens the identification of the Matthæan language with the Greek drinking legends, by thrusting in an unnecessary Aramaic sentence between them and assuming two separate translations into popular Greek.<sup>1</sup> It also obscures the central point of the situation, according to which Jesus reminds Judas of the cup out of which they have been drinking together, with exquisite grace and the significant omission of the advice to be merry. It was as if he said, Is this your cup o' kindness, Judas ?

We may state the discovery as follows :

"The original Holy Grail was a glass cup, with  
a Greek drinking legend around its rim";

from which it follows that

"Jesus talked Greek with his disciples at the Last Supper,  
or, at all events, with the Traitor in the Garden."

As we have indicated, there are several of these glass cups in existence ; the Wiegand cup, as we may call it, is now in my own possession. Two other cups are in the Berlin Museum ; a fourth is in the Museum at Leyden ; a fifth, said to come from the neighbourhood of Cremona, is described in Sangiorgi, *Collezione di vetri antichi* (p. 13) ; the sixth is the one referred to above, formerly in the possession of Mr. E. Curtis, Plainfield, New Jersey, and now in the Museum at Toledo, Ohio, and is described by Miss Richter in *Art in America*, Vol. 2 (1914), p. 85. Probably other copies may come to light, now that attention is drawn to the matter. The Wiegand cup was found in the Crimea or perhaps, to be more exact, in the excavations at Olbia ; like the other cups, it is no doubt of Sidonian origin.

Since writing the above another similar cup, a parallel to the Wiegand cup, has been discovered in the British Museum by Miss Helen T. Sherlock. I am inclined to believe that this is the one described by Sangiorgi. As to the date, we have to follow the judgment of archæologists ; if, however, we were allowed to date it ecclesiastically, on the hypothesis of its being related to the cups on the Last Supper table, we should say that it belonged to the 'Silver-and

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he did not quite mean this, but only one translation into Greek from Aramaic, which translation has taken on a popular vulgar form. That would be improbable and in any case the Aramaic is unnecessary.

Gold-have-I-none age,' which is supposed to overlap very nearly with the 'Rise-up-and-walk age.' For, as I shall show presently, these are not luxury-cups

You will have noticed that I have been assuming that the formula on the drinking cups had the prefixed word 'Comrade,' which we find in the Gospel of Matthew. I have not yet succeeded in finding a sufficiently close parallel for this ; it is not Jesus' ordinary word for his disciples as far as we can make out. It is, however, a proper word for the members of a drinking club.<sup>1</sup> The conjecture which we have made amounts to this : in the restaurant at Jerusalem where the Last Supper was held, each of the company had before him a little cup like the one I am showing you ; but there must have been a larger cup, out of which the lesser cups were filled, and this would naturally have a longer legend, which I suggest began with the word '*Comrade*.' Such cups were no doubt produced on a large scale, like Wedgwood or Doulton ware, and commanded a ready sale in the Levant. They would be on hand in the Jerusalem bazaars of the first century, and, as we have seen, there was an export trade in them as far as the Crimea, and other Greek settlements on the Black Sea.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Weigall, who writes so interestingly on *British Antiquities* in the *Daily Mail*, says that an early cup was dug up on a farm in the Eastern Counties, inscribed with the words,

"Friends drink of this."

That would make a good parallel to the legend on our cup. If we were to put it into Greek, the 'Comrade' would re-appear.

<sup>2</sup> The survival of recurrence of the use of Greek inscription on drinking cups may be illustrated from a passage in Erasmus, *Colloquies* (ed. Bailey, I. 178) where Eusebius and Timothy and Sophronius discourse as follows :—

*Tim* : "Your house is so full of Talk, that not only the walls but the very Cups speak."

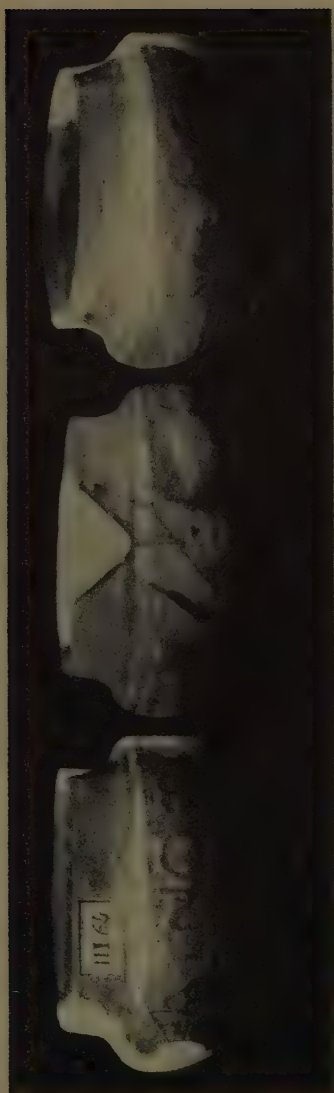
*Eusebius* : "What does it say?"

*Tim* : "No man is hurt but by himself."

*Eusebius* : "The Cup pleads for the cause of the wine, for it is a common thing if persons get a fever or the headache by over drinking, to lay it upon the wine, when they have brought it upon themselves by their excess."

*Sophronius* : "Mine speaks Greek,  
In wine there's Truth."

I am indebted for this illustration of the persistence or re-appearance of Greek formulæ on drinking cups to my friend Dr. Rutherford.



3. THE LAYDIN CUP (THREE VIEWS)





They were not, however, luxury cups, even when produced by artists, who had skill in moulding glass, and were proud of their work. (One cup that I have seen has on it not only the maker's name, but the observation in Greek that "Ennion made this ; purchaser, don't forget it !") It would, probably, be nearer the truth to say that they were poverty cups rather than luxury cups ; and in that point of view, it is interesting to notice how commonly glass cups came to be used in the Eucharist. Here is a pretty instance from Egypt in the time of the Diocletian persecution :

"A certain Epimachus, the headman of a village in the Oxyrhyncus district, was brought before the local governor, on the charge of being an obstinate Christian, and required to bring from his village, 'thy priests and thy deacons and the vessels of the liturgy.' The holy Epimachus answered him and said, 'We have not even a priest, but I seek from village to village until I find one who may give us the blessing on the Sabbath and the Lord's day ; and as for the vessels, wherein we are given communion, they are of glass, for we be poor men, dwelling in a little hamlet (ἐποίκιον).'<sup>1</sup>

So it seems there were still some districts in which the Church could say, 'Silver and Gold have I none.'

When persecution had, in later days, taken the form of spoliation, it was to this simple feature that Christian people reverted for their vessels of the sanctuary. For example, in the beginning of the eighth century, the Patriarch Alexander ii. explained his inability to pay certain demands, by saying, 'Ye see how we have been despoiled of all the Church property, even to the cups wherein the pure blood is raised up ; we have made, instead of gold and silver, *cups in glass* and patens of wood.'<sup>2</sup>

Here is another interesting Egyptian case, which as I will show you, has a parallel with my Wiegand cup. It was, as I suppose, in one of the monasteries in the Nitrian desert, probably the one known, after its founder, as Abu Makar, or *Father Macarius* (have we not visited the very spot, and touched the very body of the saint ?) that the deacon was one day in the sanctuary, preparing the gifts (δῶρα)

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Script. Or.*, Tom. 43, p. 128 ; *Acta Martyrum* : edd. Balestri and Hyvernât.

<sup>2</sup> *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. v., p. 62 ; *Hist. of the Patriarchs*, ed. Evetts.

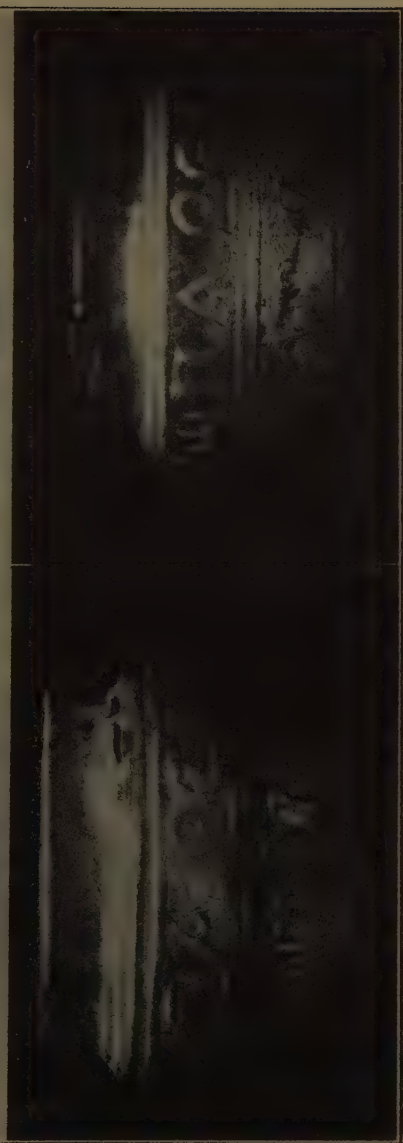
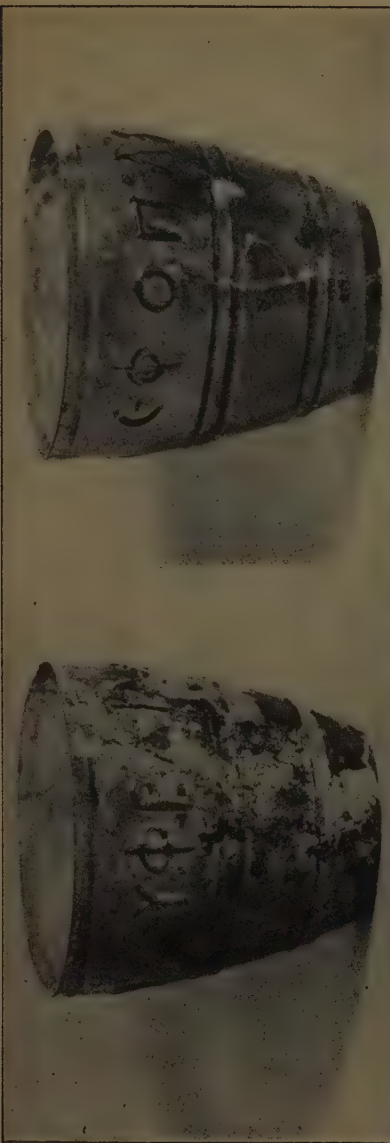
for the celebration ; the cup fell from his hands and became a multitude of fragments (for it was of glass), because it was in the desert and they were not able to have silver cups. Hearing the noise of breaking, Macarius went into the sanctuary, consoled the deacon, and bade him gather every fragment. Then, after a pause, he sent him back into the sanctuary, where he found the cup whole again ; for the cup had joined together, but the signs of the pieces that were broken were visible, although it let no drop go through. Macarius used this cup himself, and another Abbot, coming from Tanis to visit them, begged it for a keepsake, and it is in his monastery to this day.<sup>1</sup>

This story from the Nitrian desert and the fifth century pleases me much : for the Wiegand cup had a similar story of disaster ; on its way to me from Berlin it was broken into a mass of fragments. I did not, at the time, know that St. Macarius is (or ought to be) the patron saint of glass menders ; but I found in a side street off Edgware Road<sup>2</sup> a man who was reputed to have rare skill in restoring dissolute china. To him I went, and showed him the remains of the cup. He looked grave. 'Can you mend it ?' I asked. 'I don't know,' was the reply. 'How long would it take to mend it ?' 'I don't know,' was the reply. 'How much will it cost to mend it ?' 'I don't know, come again on Tuesday.' When I returned as directed, he pushed the cup towards me. 'There it is.' 'And the cost,' ? said I. 'Two shillings,' said he. To which I made a strong and irresistible negative. We settled the matter friendly, and then I told him what he had been working at. Really, when you look at his work, I think you will say that St. Macarius himself could hardly have done it any better.

These illustrations from Coptic Christianity, for which I am indebted to my friend Dr. Crum, will suffice to confirm my opinion that the Wiegand cup and its companions are not luxury cups, though they are genuine works of art.

<sup>1</sup> *Annales de Musée Guimet*, xxv., 255 : *Life of Macarius of Alexandria*. The writer of the story has probably confused Macarius of Alexandria with Macarius the Great.

<sup>2</sup> What is now known as Harrowby Street. Enquire for Mr. Byron.



4. THE TOLEDO CUP (Two Views)  
5-6. THE TWO BERLIN CUPS





## NOTE ON CUPS.

We may now present successively the cups that we have been referring to, the pictures of them being made from two sides or even from three, so as to enable the student to trace the Greek inscriptions.

1. The Wiegand Cup, now in our own possession. (Two views.)
2. The British Museum (Sherlock) Cup. (Two views.)
3. The Leyden Cup. (Two views.) From the Leyden Museum. It is badly damaged and has been repaired by the use of plaster of Paris.
4. The Toledo Cup. (Two views.) From the Toledo Museum, Ohio. It is a very beautiful specimen, and may be known either as the Toledo Cup, or, after its former owner, the Curtis Cup.
- 5 and 6. The two cups in the Berlin Museum which may be known as Berlin 1 and Berlin 2.

# ELIJAH AND JEZEBEL<sup>1</sup>

## THE CONFLICT WITH THE TYRIAN BAAL

BY A. S. PEAKE, M.A., D.D.

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ON the death of Omri Ahab became king of Israel. His father had founded a new dynasty and seems to have been one of the ablest rulers of the Northern Kingdom. The power of Syria was growing and its menace to Israel was becoming more formidable. Omri himself had been forced to make humiliating concessions to it. It was natural that measures should be taken to strengthen the country's military and diplomatic position. How far this process had gone during the reign of Omri we cannot tell. But we find Ahab in alliance with Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, so that the state of war which had existed from the time of Rehoboam was ended and with it a grave source of weakness to both countries. There was also an alliance with Tyre which was sealed by the marriage of Ahab with Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal the king of Tyre.

This alliance of the House of Omri with the royal family of Tyre created grave problems for Israel's religion. Religion entered into the national life to a degree difficult for us to understand who make so sharp a separation between the religious and the secular. The alliance of nations carried with it the alliance of their deities. This would involve in the first instance the provision of a sanctuary in which the foreign princess and her Phœnician suite could worship Melkart, their national deity. There, too, the traders from Tyre might find in Samaria a spiritual home. Had matters gone no further than the provision of this religious hospitality, no crisis would perhaps

<sup>1</sup> An amplification of a Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 19th December, 1925.

have arisen ; though the more rigorous worshippers of Israel's God might have resented any provision for the worship of a foreign deity. But Jezebel, who was strong-willed and unscrupulous and who had Phœnician rather than Hebrew notions as to the prerogatives of royalty, seems also to have been a fanatical devotee of her national deity and to have shown great zeal in spreading his worship among the Israelites. There is no reason to doubt that Ahab participated in the cult or that the influence of the Court favoured the spread of the foreign religion among the people. This would not necessarily involve any abandonment of the national Deity. The two sons of Ahab, who both reigned over Israel, Ahaziah and Jehoram, and their sister Athaliah who became queen of Judah, all bore names in which the name of Yahweh, the God of Israel, formed an element. In view of the significance attaching to names, which were not among the Hebrews the mere labels of identification they commonly are with ourselves, the giving of such names is significant of Ahab's attachment to Yahweh. When the king was meditating the ill-fated expedition to Ramoth-gilead which was to cost him his life he consulted four hundred prophets of Yahweh. Prophets of Yahweh were in communication with him in the earlier stages of the Syrian war. (1 Kings xx.).

It is clear from this that Ahab felt no incompatibility between the worship of Yahweh the God of Israel and Melkart the Baal of Tyre. Nor would it seem that those of his subjects who adopted the worship of Melkart abandoned the worship of Yahweh or practised it with less ardour. It was not intended that the two deities should be pitted in rivalry against each other, but that they should stand in friendship side by side. To the politicians of Israel it would have seemed a matter of international comity, not to be neglected without risk of rupture.

How far then may we describe the situation as novel ? And was the conduct of the king a violation of the fundamental character of Israel's religion ? It might seem as if Ahab was only following the precedent of Solomon ; but Solomon appears to have done little more than provide sanctuaries where his wives and those who had come with them to Jerusalem might practise the worship of their own deities. That Solomon himself occasionally participated in these cults is not unlikely ; but apparently there was no attempt to promote



their worship among the people. But in view of the frequent reference in the earlier history to the cult of the Baalim it might seem as if we had simply the reappearance here of a long familiar tendency.

This, however, would be a serious error. When the Hebrews entered Canaan they gradually abandoned their nomadic habits and, in the more fertile districts, learnt from the older inhabitants the art of tilling the soil. This involved more than we should understand the art of agriculture to include. The land belonged to the local divinities and for the use of it and for the water which fertilised it tribute must be paid. Moreover, on their favour or displeasure the success or failure of the husbandman's labour might depend. These local divinities were collectively known as the Baalim or Baals. The divinity of a particular district was known as its Baal. Presumably at the outset the Hebrews paid their offerings for the use of the land and to express their gratitude or avert the displeasure of the divine owner at the local shrine. The cult of these gods of fertility was undoubtedly inimical to sound morality. Yet they stood in quite a different category from Israel's national God, much as the saints might receive a homage which the worshipper would insist did not rank with the worship that was due to God alone. At least it is probable that the mass of the people practised the cult of the local Baalim, or of the household deities, without any consciousness that it trenched on Yahweh's exclusive domain. For Yahweh was the God of the nation; and His worship, practised by all the tribes, was the bond which held them together in spite of geographical separation or political division. Above all He was the God of battles. He went before the Hebrew hosts and led them to victory. The wars of Israel were also the wars of Yahweh; her warriors were Yahweh's "consecrated ones," for war was a sacred service. He marshalled the hosts of heaven, the stars in their courses, to fight against His enemies; He routed them with terrible slaughter and often put upon the survivors the ban or the decree of extermination. As the wilderness Deity He might naturally have been regarded as unsympathetic with the agricultural mode of life. At a later period Canaan was for the Hebrews the land of corn and wine and oil; but earlier it was pre-eminently "a land flowing with milk and honey." The pasturage for their cattle meant more to these hardy emigrants from the desert

than the cornfield, the vineyard and the oliveyard. So when they settled down and cultivated the ground, it might well seem as if with this new mode of life the national God had little or nothing to do. Hence the cult of the Baalim may have been quite naturally adopted without any consciousness of disloyalty to Yahweh, who was lifted far above them and whose primary concern was centred on the fortunes of the nation.

But, as time went on, the feeling that Caanan was Yahweh's land grew stronger ; and the tribute paid for the use of the fertile soil was felt to be due to Him. But the ritual which had been practised from time immemorial might still be regarded not only as correct but as essential, though the offerings were now made to Yahweh and not to the Baalim. Change in the destination of the service need not imply any change in its character. Thus into the purer worship of Yahweh heathenish rites might readily intrude. And the contamination was all the easier that the term "Baal" itself was neutral, meaning "lord" or "owner." It was applied to the relation of a husband to his wife, or of the owner to his land. Hence Yahweh Himself might quite innocently be spoken of as a Baal,<sup>1</sup> and so the distinction between Him and the local Baalim might easily be blunted. Thus the peril of moral degradation affected the religion not only in its practice but in its conception of the Deity.

It was not unnatural that protests should be made. And it is the more necessary for our purpose to dwell upon this, since the movement initiated by Elijah and carried out by Elisha brings a figure on the scene who is specially associated with a protest against the agricultural life. When Jehu was playing, with oriental thoroughness, the part of a bloodthirsty usurper and was going from one scene of massacre to another, Jehonadab the son of Rechab went to meet him (2 Kings

<sup>1</sup> The use of such names as Ishbaal and Meribaal in the family of Saul, still more such a name as we meet with in 1 Chron. xii. 5, Beliah (Yahweh is Baal) attest this. Hos. ii. 16 f. is specially instructive, "thou shalt call me Ishi; and shalt call me no more Baali. For I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth, and they shall be no more mentioned by their name." It was customary for Israel to call Yahweh 'my Baal,' that is 'my husband.' But this usage will be discontinued and 'Ishi,' also meaning 'my husband,' will be substituted. The evil associations of the term 'Baal' have ruined it for religious use, even though in a sense quite innocent in itself. I see no reason for disputing the authenticity of this passage

x. 15-28). Jehu accosted him with the question "Is thine heart genuinely with my heart as my heart is with thy heart?" Jehonadab replied, "It is." Then Jehu said to him, "If it is, give me thy hand." So he gave Jehu his hand and Jehu took him up into his chariot inviting him to accompany him and see his zeal for Yahweh. Then Jehu went on to Samaria and completed the extermination of "all that remained unto Ahab." Then he ordered all the worshippers of Baal to attend a great sacrifice to their deity. When they were assembled, Jehonadab accompanied Jehu into the temple, the sacrifice was offered and then the idolators whom he had entrapped were massacred. This narrative makes it clear that Jehonadab was in hearty sympathy with the atrocities perpetrated by the usurper. But religion was the root of his attitude, while the motives of Jehu were more complex. We need not doubt that Jehu had a genuine antagonism to the cult of the Tyrian Baal; but his policy was guided by ambition from which the fanatical son of Rechab was entirely free.

But the point which concerns us is that Jehonadab is specially associated with the total rejection of settled life and the practice of agriculture.<sup>1</sup> In the striking story which we read in Jer. xxxv. his descendants strictly observe the prohibitions which he imposed upon them. When Jeremiah, that he might rebuke the disobedience of Judah to Yahweh by the fidelity of the Rechabites to their ancestral law, invited them to drink wine, they refused. "We will drink no wine: for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever: neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land wherein ye sojourn." The fact that wine happened to be the point at which their obedience was challenged has led to the popular association of the Rechabites with total abstinence from intoxicants; but this completely misses the significance of the rule under which they lived. It is clear from the terms in which it is stated that this rule was directed against settled life in any form. They were to remain true to

<sup>1</sup> For the Rechabites I may refer to my commentary on Jeremiah, Vol. II. 144-146. See further the histories of the Religion of Israel, the dictionaries of the Bible, and the works on Hebrew Archæology by Nowack, Benzinger, and Volz. B. Luther has an important discussion in E. Meyer's *Die Israeliten und Ihre Nachbarstämme* (pp. 132 ff., 166 f.), cf. Meyer's own remarks on p. 84.

their nomadic ideal. A moveable tent not a fixed house was to be the dwelling ; no seed was to be sown or harvest reaped and especially they were to plant no vineyard.<sup>1</sup> For while it is possible for nomads to sow and reap corn, the vineyard demands attention for years before it yields any return, and therefore implies a long settled life. The prohibition of wine was accordingly only incidental ; it was not aimed against intoxication or drinking to excess, but against the use of a product of settled life. This loyalty to the nomadic ideal was not merely a conservative prejudice in favour of an older mode of life to which they had been long habituated it was also rooted in religion. From Jehonadab's complete approval of Jehu's actions and his participation in the scheme to massacre the worshippers of the Tyrian Baal we may infer that his zeal for Yahweh was very great. And from the form which his prohibitions to his descendants took we may infer that zeal for Yahweh meant for him an utter repudiation of the Canaanite civilisation and a steadfast adhesion to the wandering manner of life characteristic of the wilderness period. And this would be all the more the case since the tilling of the soil carried with it either direct worship of the Baalim, or the service of Yahweh with the rites customary in the Canaanite cultus. For him to build a house and to cultivate the soil was to be disloyal to the God who had made a covenant with Israel in the desert.

It might seem then as if the apostasy against which his movement was a protest was simply that which had been more or less prevalent in Israel from the settlement in Canaan onwards, and that the Baal-worship which Jehu uprooted was no novel form of idolatry. But the narrative in Kings clearly indicates that the idolatry against which Elijah protested and which Jehu extirpated was the worship of the Tyrian Baal. And we ought not to urge against this that the cult of the Canaanite Baalim must be intended because it was against this that Jehonadab's prohibitions were specially directed. That is, of course,

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94), as Graf and others have pointed out, tells us that the Nabateans had a similar rule. They lived in the open air and to preserve their liberty had "a law neither to sow corn, nor plant any fruit-bearing plant, nor to drink wine, nor to build a house. Whoever transgresses this law is punished with death." W. H. Bennett very aptly quotes a parallel from Scott's *Legend of Montrose* : "Son of the Mist ! be free as thy forefathers. Own no lord—receive no law—take no hire—give no stipend—build no hut—enclose no pasture—sow no grain."



correct ; but if loyalty to Yahweh demanded unswerving hostility to the Canaanite Baalim and the whole form of life associated with their worship, *a fortiori* it demanded unrelenting opposition to the cult of the Tyrian Baal. For with the coming of Jezebel a new problem had been raised—not that of recognising a swarm of inferior divinities but that of placing a foreign divinity on the same level as Yahweh. And it is not unlikely that the Rechabite movement itself took shape at this time, and embodied a protest against the policy of the royal house. For while it had a much wider range and embodied a deep antipathy to the whole practice of agriculture as inconsistent with loyalty to Israel's desert God, the new worship came into even sharper collision with the ideal of monolatry. It is noteworthy that although the movement derived its rule from Jehonadab, its adherents are called the Rechabites ; that is they derive their name not from Jehonadab but from his father. It is accordingly not unlikely that Rechab himself was its originator, though his son may have formulated the rule ; and if so it is a natural hypothesis that the movement itself dates back to the early period of Ahab's reign when the Tyrian cult would be introduced.

It cannot, then, be too clearly recognised that the action of Ahab created a new situation. The crisis was indeed of the first magnitude. For the issue raised was whether Yahweh would tolerate a companion in the allegiance of His people. Or was He a deity who sat in unchallenged supremacy and undisturbed solitude on His throne ? Was the religion of Israel a rigid monotheism or a tolerant polytheism or something between the two ? We could answer these questions with more confidence if we could reach any assured conclusion as to the religion of Moses. This is too large and too intricate a question to be discussed here ; but if we can scarcely venture to affirm that Moses was a monotheist, we may believe with some assurance that he did not permit the worship of more gods than one. He may have recognised the existence of other deities. But this was no concern of Israel ; these other deities were for her as if they did not exist. Such a belief and practice is called "monolatry." It was characteristic of the religion that Yahweh was a jealous God, one who tolerated neither val nor companion.

The action of Ahab and Jezebel was, if this view is correct, a direct challenge to a fundamental principle of the Hebrew religion.



For it placed by the side of Yahweh a companion to share the allegiance of His people.

What then was the attitude of the people to the religious policy and practice of the Court? Elijah complains at Horeb that the apostasy has been universal. "I have been very jealous for Yahweh, the God of hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away" (1 Kings xix. 14). This is plainly far too sweeping; yet it points to a widespread apostasy due presumably less to the enthusiasm of the people for the national deity of their allies than to tolerant acquiescence in a fashionable cult or a desire to stand well with the rulers of the State. The later history seems to suggest that though the foreign cult was widely spread in Israel it was not deeply rooted. And there were not a few who were neither sycophants nor Laodiceans. Some may simply have stood aloof; but others seem to have made a definite protest. For we have a reference to an attempt of Jezebel to exterminate the prophets of Yahweh when Obadiah took a hundred of them and hid them by fifties in a cave and fed them with bread and water. And while some actively opposed, others quietly abstained. In the deep despondency occasioned by his sense of isolation Elijah is assured (1 Kings xix. 15-18) that when the drastic triple judgment he is to set in motion falls on Israel, Yahweh will preserve alive a remnant of seven thousand, "all the knees which have not bowed unto the Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him." Thus he learns that in his refusal to share in the national apostasy he is far less lonely than he had thought. But that he needed this assurance suggests that they had quietly stood aloof rather than actively opposed. It may be added that it is a quite illegitimate inference from the fact that a single temple accommodated all the worshippers of the Tyrian Baal in the time of Jehu (2 Kings x. 21), that the numbers were very small in the time of Ahab. For we are explicitly told that Jehoram, the son of Ahab, did not follow Ahab and Jezebel in their apostasy and in fact took measures against the foreign worship (2 Kings iii. 2). And it would be a very precarious inference from the narrative of Jehu's massacre of the devotees of Baal that the whole of them put their necks in the noose, trusting in Jehu's good faith.

We are now ready to turn to the work of Elijah in which the authentic Hebrew feeling, whether dumb or articulate, found its supreme expression. And it will serve our purpose best to sketch the story of his conflict first and then to touch on points of interest in it or the problems which it raises. It is indeed probable that the original opening of the story has been omitted. Presumably it told how the worship of Melkart was set up and how Elijah protested against it. But as the story now stands Elijah, of Tishbe in Gilead, is introduced to us with highly effective abruptness. He announces to Ahab "As Yahweh the God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years but according to my word (1 Kings xvii. 1)." It is not indicated at this point why the judgment is announced; but it is clear from the preceding context and from the sequel that the drought is a penalty for the worship of Melkart. Fed by ravens at the brook Cherith and by the widow of Zarephath in Phœnicia after the brook had dried up, his career is marked by further wonders—the unwasting barrel of meal, the unfailing cruse of oil, and the raising to life of the widow's son. Then in the third year of the drought the prophet is bidden to present himself before Ahab, who meanwhile had been seeking for him in all the neighbouring kingdoms. The drought had driven matters to extremities, and the king and Obadiah his minister were searching the country to find pasture for the horses and mules. The prophet meets Obadiah and bids him announce his return to the king. Obadiah fears the risk involved to himself in the errand since he has a foreboding that Yahweh will spirit His messenger away and that Ahab will slay his minister when he cannot find the prophet. Reassured by Elijah's promise that he will confront the king that day, he carries the message to Ahab who goes to meet the "troubler of Israel." Elijah retorting this ill-omened designation upon the king, challenges him to arrange a contest before all Israel on Mount Carmel between the four hundred and fifty prophets of Melkart and the lonely prophet of Yahweh. The test is to be made by sacrifice. Each party is to dress its bullock and lay it on the wood upon the altar; but the wood is not to be kindled by human hands. The God who answers by fire is to be recognised as the true God. Ahab accepts the challenge and the meeting takes place. Through the whole morning the priests of Melkart vainly plead with their god to answer them. Stung by the pitiless mockery

of Elijah, they utter more piercing cries and gash their bodies till they stream with blood. At the time of the evening oblation Elijah repairs the ruined altar of Yahweh, constructing it of twelve stones, corresponding to the number of the tribes of the undivided Israel. Then he makes a trench about the altar, places the wood upon the altar, and the pieces of the bullock upon the wood. Three times the wood and the offering are drenched with water and then in answer to the prophet's prayer the fire of Yahweh falls on the sacrifice, consumes the burnt offering, the wood and the stones, and licks up the water with which the trench had been filled.<sup>1</sup> All the people prostrate themselves with the cry that Yahweh is God ; and the prophet takes advantage of the revulsion of feeling occasioned by his victory to have the prophets of Melkart executed to a man.

The God who answered by fire was the God who controlled the

<sup>1</sup> Hitzig in his *Geschichte Israels* suggested naphtha as the means employed for the kindling of the sacrifice, and I believe that he was anticipated in this by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. The suggestion has been revived in recent times. See especially Saintyves, *Essais de Folklore Biblique* (1922). In the first chapter "Le Feu qui descend du Ciel et le Renouveau du Feu Sacré" the author deals with the scene on Carmel, p. 21. "Or il ne semble pas douteux qu'il s'agit là d'un feu allumé par l'action d'un liquide sur une préparation pyrophorique préalablement disposée sur l'autel. . . . Ces eaux qui semblent rendre le miracle tout à fait impossible en sont précisément l'agent efficace." But even if Elijah could have descended to such a trick, which I do not for a moment believe, how could he have successfully carried it through under the vigilant eyes of the king and so many spectators, and above all under the eyes of the bitterly hostile priests of Melkart, already unsuccessful and in imminent peril of being discredited? How could he have made the previous preparation of the inflammable material on the altar, seeing that the altar was in ruins and was built up by Elijah in the sight of all the spectators? And who were his accomplices who drenched the sacrifice with the inflammable liquid, mistaken by everyone else for water? And are we to suppose that Elijah knew a trick which the priests of Melkart did not know? Saintyves himself says (p. 23) that the secret was known to priests of foreign deities and quotes many examples. However a credulous populace may have been imposed on by the impostures of an unscrupulous priesthood, we may rest assured that one so unsophisticated as Elijah would have been no match for the priests of Melkart, heirs of a long tradition and well versed in the wiles of their craft. We must remember that Tyre was not only itself highly civilised, but its vast naval and commercial enterprise brought Phœnicia into contact with a far wider range of cultures than any other people. We need not go outside the Old Testament for ancient evidence. Ezekiel gives us a most impressive picture (chs. xxvii., xxviii.).

elements. So it was Yahweh and not Melkart in whose hands the power rested to slay man and beast by famine or to bring the drought to an end. The lightning had fallen on the sacrifice from a clear sky and gave no promise of the longed-for rain. So while Ahab goes up to eat and drink, the prophet goes to the top of Carmel to agonise in prayer with God.<sup>1</sup> Already he had heard in spirit the sound of the approaching tempest ; but his physical sensitiveness finds no confirmation in the atmospheric conditions. Six times he sends his servant to look out over the sea and each time he sees a cloudless sky. And only from the seventh journey does he return with the tidings of the tiny cloud, no larger than a man's hand, which is rising out of the sea. Then Elijah knows that the rain is coming and he sends an urgent message to the king bidding him ride swiftly homeward lest the roads should become impassable through the floods. And he himself in a prophetic ecstasy, gifted with unnatural strength and speed, runs before the royal chariot from Carmel to Jezreel, while the long drought is ended by the torrential rain.

Cowed by a message from the infuriated Jezebel that he should pay with his life for the execution of her prophets, he escaped into Judah, left his servant at Beersheba and went a day's journey into the wilderness. There under a juniper tree he prayed that he might die, conscious that he has only human strength to achieve his superhuman task. He sleeps and an angel rouses him that he may eat ; but apparently he has no heart for food in his weariness and despair<sup>2</sup> and sleeps again. He is wakened a second time and now he obeys the command to eat, assured by the angel that the journey to his destination will otherwise be too much for him. In the strength of that meat he goes forty days and forty nights to Horeb, the Mount of God, where he lodges in the cave.<sup>3</sup> Then a strong wind rent the mountains and shattered the rocks and after the wind came the earthquake and

<sup>1</sup> There is no need to see in Elijah's strange posture any rain-making magic. It indicates his intense concentration on the prayer he is offering.

<sup>2</sup> Gunkel (*Elias, Jahve und Baal* p. 22) has made the very attractive suggestion that the original text represented Elijah as refusing the first invitation to eat. In that case we should omit 'he did eat and drink and' in xix. 6. So also Gressmann, though in his first edition he secured the same sense by inserting the negative 'And he did not eat and drink.'

<sup>3</sup> Translate 'the cave' rather than 'a cave,' i.e. the cleft in the rock where Moses had stood (Ex. xxxiii. 22).



then a fire. But Yahweh was in none of these, they were but the heralds of His approach. After the deafening crash of these mighty elemental forces there followed a dead silence which was broken by the gentlest whisper. Now the prophet knows that Yahweh Himself has come ; and a deeper awe fills him than has been inspired by the dread harbingers of His coming. Muffling his face in his mantle that he may not see the terrible God of Horeb, he goes out to stand in His presence at the entrance of the cave. Then the Divine voice challenges him to explain his presence at Horeb : "What doest thou here, Elijah ?" In reply he asserts his zeal for Yahweh in face of a complete national apostasy in which he alone of the prophets has escaped the sword—and his life also is threatened. Then he receives his orders to return to his post and is entrusted with the threefold commission—to anoint Hazael king over Syria and Jehu king over Israel and Elisha to be his own successor.<sup>1</sup> "Him that escapeth from the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay : and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay." Yet this judgment of extermination will not be visited on the whole people. Seven thousand will be left as a remnant, consisting of those who have not done homage to the Baal. The narrative closes with an account of the call of Elisha to be the attendant of the prophet.

The next narrative is that of Naboth's vineyard. Ahab wished to have it for a garden of herbs because it was near his house, and offered Naboth a better vineyard in exchange, or payment in money. Naboth felt that there would be a certain impiety in parting with the inheritance of his father, so he refused. Ahab was deeply mortified but regarded Naboth's refusal as settling the question. The sequel brings to further expression the difference between Israel and Phoenicia. For Jezebel, brought up in the atmosphere of the Tyrian Court, feels only amazement and contempt for the poltroonery and the scruples of

<sup>1</sup> It is questionable if Gunkel is right in thinking (l.c. p. 25) that xix. 15-17 looks back to ver. 4. Elijah, he says, has prayed for death ; he is told to anoint Elisha in his stead ; therefore his prayer is answered, he may die ; but he will die comforted, for judgment will come and it is his task to anoint its instruments. But Elijah's prayer was only the expression of a deep despondency, which the theophany removes. He would not now wish the prayer to be answered. That the story, if a unity, belongs to his final period is by no means clear ; and it is not at all certain that originally vv. 15-18 formed the sequel to vv. 1-14.



her husband who permits himself to be thwarted by Naboth's obstinate refusal to part with his ancestral holding. The only monarchy she understands is one which recognises no law save the despotic will of the sovereign and holds at its own disposal the property and life of the subject. Yet Jezebel herself does not venture in Israel to put her Phœnician principles in practice. She recognises that the confiscation of Naboth's estate cannot be effected by high-handed violence, but only by a legal process in which the life of her victim is sworn away by perjurers. She lays her plans accordingly and Naboth, accused by false witnesses of blasphemy against God and the king, is stoned to death.<sup>1</sup> His property falls to the crown, Jezebel informs her husband that Naboth is dead and bids him take possession of the vineyard. It is true that Ahab played no active part in this legal robbery and murder; but he took no steps to prevent it, though he must have known that his wife's promise to secure the vineyard for him could be carried out only by some such scheme as this. Elijah accordingly denounced the king as guilty of the crime which he had allowed to take its course and the fruits of which he was content to enjoy.

After the death of Ahab, his son Ahaziah, having met with an accident, sent messengers to Ekron to enquire from Baalzebub its deity whether he would recover from his illness. Elijah met them and sent them back to the king with a message rebuking him for consulting a pagan oracle, as if there were no God in Israel, and assuring him that his sickness would be fatal. When the king hears the explanation of their return and learns the reason, he enquires as to his appearance and recognises from the description that the message has been sent by Elijah. The narrative proceeds to relate that the king sent a captain with fifty men to apprehend the prophet, who called down fire from heaven which consumed the captain and his company. This happened to a second company of soldiers; but when a third was sent the captain entreated the prophet to be merciful. He granted his petition and went down with him and confronted the king, repeating the prediction of death which he had previously announced to the king's messengers. This, we are told, was duly fulfilled.

This narrative is so offensive to our moral sense and so unworthy

<sup>1</sup> Klostermann and Gunkel think that xxi. 10 is an insertion. There was no need that so many should be cognisant of the plot; everything could be achieved by the false witnesses.

of Elijah that it would be a relief to regard it as a legendary embellishment. It reminds us of the unpleasant tale of Elisha and the children who, in response to his curse upon them, are torn by the she-bears. This story also gives a very different impression of Elisha from the stories of the deeds of mercy which are recorded in subsequent chapters, especially the magnanimity with which he bids the king of Israel feast the Syrian soldiers who had been sent to capture the prophet when the king himself was minded to slay them in cold blood, even though they were not prisoners of war. It is possible, as Benzinger suggests in his commentary, that the original narrative told simply that Elijah announced to the messengers that Ahaziah would die and that the king's death followed. "This suggestion is approved by Gunkel. There is no serious reason for doubting that Elijah sent the message to Ahaziah. The fact that Ahab on the eve of his expedition to Ramoth-gilead had reluctantly to consult Micaiah gives no warrant for the inference that Elijah had already been removed from the scene. Elijah went and came as he willed, he did not dance attendance on the king or deign to make one of a long retinue of prophets.

The closing scene is that of Elijah's translation, told with great literary power. Elijah is accompanied by his faithful attendant. Again and again the prophet, aware of his approaching departure, begs his servant to leave him. But he too is aware that the bond between them is that day to be broken and is resolute to see the end. The bands of prophets resident at Bethel and Jericho have also divined that this is Elijah's last day on earth. Rolling his mantle Elijah strikes the Jordan with it and they pass over to the other side. Realising that the crisis is at hand, Elijah asks his servant what he may do for him as his parting gift. Elisha requests that he may inherit the share of the firstborn in his master's spirit. This would carry with it not only a share of that Divine energy and illumination by which the prophet had been qualified for his mighty work, but it would place Elisha also at the head of the prophetic guilds. The request is not an easy one to grant; it is not really Elijah's to bestow. But he knows the conditions on which God will grant it. If Elisha is gifted with the faculty of vision and can see the rapture of his master to heaven, then the boon he has asked will be granted to him. Elisha worthily passes the test and as he sees his master caught up by the whirlwind into heaven he cries "My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen

thereof.”<sup>1</sup> Rending his garments in mourning for his master, he takes up the magical mantle of Elijah and smiting the Jordan again cleaves the waters and returns to the other side dryshod. Fifty of the prophets of Jericho who had watched the scene afar off recognise in the repetition of the miracle a proof that the spirit of Elijah rests upon Elisha and prostrate themselves in homage before him. But like the servant of Elisha at Dothan their eyes are sealed to the wonders of the invisible world; and although they have seen the separation of Elijah from Elisha they have not seen the chariots and horses of fire. They fear that the incalculable Spirit of Yahweh has caught the prophet up and cast him away on some mountain or in some valley where he lies abandoned. Elisha whose eyes had been unsealed so that he knows the truth is unwilling to yield to their request that they may be permitted to seek for their master. At last yielding to their persistence he grants his permission, though he knows that the search will be futile—as indeed it proved.

I have thought it best to complete the narrative without lingering over the problems which it presents. To these I must now return. There is in the first place the question of chronological arrangement. It is clear, since the drought, the contest on Carmel, the journey to Horeb and the murder of Naboth are all assigned to the reign of Ahab, that the rebuke of Ahaziah as well as the closing scene are placed in their right position at the end. But the right arrangement of the earlier stories is not at all simple. In the present arrangement the first three of them hang closely together. The first opens with the announcement of the drought and illustrations of its severity drawn from the prophet's own experience. The end of the drought comes after the contest on Carmel. There can therefore be no question that

<sup>1</sup>In 2 Kings xiii. 14, the words are used by Joash to Elisha on his death-bed, implying that the prophet had been a protection to Israel like battle chariots and war-horses. Some scholars think that it was used in the first instance of Elisha, and was subsequently introduced into the story of Elijah. If the phrase originally suggested the idea of protection, it would suit Elisha better than Elijah. But in itself the exclamation might refer to the heavenly chariot and horses which appeared to take up Elijah; and in that case the application to Elisha would be secondary. We should compare the very striking scene at Dothan, where there is a fine contrast between the horses and chariots of the Syrians round about the city and the unseen horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha (2 Kings vi. 17).

these narratives form a unity. And in the present form of the story the journey to Horeb is linked to the scene on Carmel by Jezebel's threat of vengeance on Elijah for his slaughter of the prophets of Melkart. There is nevertheless very real difficulty in this sequence. For that Elijah who had presented himself undismayed to Ahab and treated with him on equal terms, who had stood alone against four hundred and fifty priests of Melkart and taunted them with the impotence of their god, who had swung the people over to his side and had sealed his triumph by the massacre of the heathen priests, should now quail before the threat of Jezebel is very hard to understand. For the fact that the queen threatened was itself a confession of impotence. Had she dared to strike she would have struck without warning. But even the resolute, vindictive, and unscrupulous Jezebel would not have dared to touch the hero of Carmel—she who could not even put Naboth out of the way save by foul means. That there should be reaction after a tremendous strain one could well believe. Yet Elijah shows no sense of strain in his conflict with the priests but rather an easy mastery of the situation. And it is indeed surprising that, if he was the victim of reaction, his reaction should take this form. He looks back on his work as a failure. Utterly exhausted he prays that he may die. He is no better than his fathers, he is a weak mortal like them. And at Horeb he explains that he has left his post because of the universal apostasy of the people, the slaughter of Yahweh's prophets and the menace to his own life. "I have been very jealous for Yahweh, the God of hosts : for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword, and I, even I only, am left ; and they seek my life to take it away." After the successful issue of a test which he had himself imposed, such utter despair does not suit the actual situation. If, however, we detach the narrative from its present connexion where are we to place it ? The easiest suggestion would perhaps be that it belongs to an earlier period in Elijah's career. It presupposes a widespread persecution of the prophets such as is mentioned by Obadiah and this may well have preceded the announcement of the drought. The sequence of events might then have been as follows : Jezebel not only secures the erection of a sanctuary for Melkart, at which she and her suite and other Phoenicians may carry on their worship, but uses her position to gain for her own god a prominent place in the worship of the people.



This, while not actively opposed by the people generally, arouses violent antagonism among the prophets, which Jezebel counters by active measures against them, the uxurious Ahab, presumably, not wholly approving, but dominated by the demonic energy of his wife. Then Elijah leaves his home on the East of Jordan and goes to Horeb that there he may renew his strength and courage at the scene, of the original revelation of Yahweh to Moses. He has himself laboured in the cause but is utterly despondent as he contemplates the havoc wrought by Jezebel, the acquiescence of the people, the widespread persecution of the prophets, from which he alone has escaped. Then reassured he confronts Ahab and announces the drought.

Against this reconstruction, however, it may be urged that the triple commission which the prophet receives at Horeb carries us much further down in his career. It is thought by some scholars that the command to anoint Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha is explicable only if Elijah's work is nearly done. But this is not necessarily implied. The appointment of Elisha as his successor might have been made some time before his end and the narrative suggests that Elisha was for some time in attendance upon him. But the references to Jehu and Hazael do suggest a late point in Elijah's life. The narrative in its present form is fragmentary and the original may have told how the prophet himself executed the commission. But, as the Biblical story stands, it is difficult to believe that Elijah anointed either Hazael or Jehu. For Hazael is taken quite by surprise when Elisha portrays the atrocities he is to perpetrate. How can he, contemptible dog that he is, be reserved for a destiny so great? And Jehu betrays no knowledge that his anointing by Elisha's messenger was but the repetition of a consecration he had previously received from Elijah. The combination of the commission with the vision at Horeb may perhaps be only editorial.

Nor have we any definite evidence as to the period in Ahab's reign to which the murder of Naboth should be assigned. That it was earlier than the drought is possible, but scarcely probable. For Elijah is already recognised by Ahab as his enemy which points to earlier collisions between them. If we look at the narratives in themselves, apart from the order in which they come, the impression we get is that the announcement of the drought belongs to the early stages of Elijah's relations with Ahab. The description of him as the



"troubler of Israel" would be amply accounted for by the distressing situation to which the nation had been reduced by the prolonged failure of rain. Ahab's description of the prophet as "mine enemy" points to a later stage still.

From the problems of chronology we must now turn to those of historicity. It is admitted by practically all scholars that Elijah was a historical character. Hölscher goes to the extreme of scepticism in this, as in so many other Old Testament questions. We must accordingly be thankful for small mercies. But while he believes that the tradition about him is almost entirely legendary and that the narratives are throughout unhistorical, he allows that he must be recognised as a historical figure.<sup>1</sup> He considers that the stories told about him were originally attached to Elisha and were only subsequently transferred to Elijah. The ideals which prevailed in prophetic circles after the revolution of Jehu found their representative in the figure of Elijah. Other scholars take a more favourable view. Wellhausen's brilliant critical investigations and historical sketches have exercised great influence and are typical of the somewhat advanced, though not extreme, standpoint occupied by many contemporary critics. He insists upon the legendary character of the narrative, but finds in this a proof of the prophet's greatness. "In lonely splendour this prophet towered above his time, a majestic figure of heroic stature, as no other in the Bible; legend could preserve a firm impression of him as history could not."<sup>2</sup> Critics of a more conservative tendency, such as Kittel and Sellin, admit the legendary character of the narratives and allow that some are without historical value. But they maintain the historicity of his conflict with Jezebel and the priests of Melkart, culminating in the contest on Carmel which ended in the prophet's victory, his journey to Horeb, and his denunciation of Ahab for the judicial murder of Naboth.

Difficulties confront us at the outset when we consider the miraculous element in the narrative. Our decision here will depend partly on the general attitude we take towards miracle, partly on the question whether the crisis was of sufficient magnitude in the history of the religion to justify abnormal action, partly on the question how far

<sup>1</sup> *Die Profeten*, p. 177; *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (7th ed.), p. 73.

what was originally intended as poetry may have been interpreted as prosaic fact, or what was capable of natural explanation has been exaggerated into a miracle. But it would be unwarranted to argue that if the miraculous element is unhistorical there can be no kernel of historical fact. The narratives about Elisha abound in miracle, though miracle far more homely and commonplace ; but they have not been found useless in reconstructing the later prophet's career.

It is further urged that the parallelism between the stories told of the two prophets is suspicious. Each prophet restores to a mother her only son. In each case there is a miraculous multiplication of the widow's oil, and also a miraculous multiplication of food. The New Testament student will remember how Schneckenburger drew up a much more impressive list of parallels between the stories about Peter and Paul in the Acts of the Apostles ; and what a place this filled as part of the foundation for the imposing structure erected by the Tübingen critics. The memory may inspire a salutary caution. We have to deal with the argument from parallelism much as we deal with testimonials, which are often even more important for what they omit than for what they say. When we apply this principle we are much more struck by the fact that so many stories which are told of Elisha have no parallel at all in the history of Elijah. Instinctively we feel that several of them would be quite out of keeping with the gigantic figure of the earlier prophet. Moreover, Hölcher himself allows that the story of the cruse of oil and that of the restoration of the dead to life are widely current stories, so that any derivation from the Elisha narratives is unnecessary. And even if direct dependence had to be admitted it would by no means follow that the Elijah cycle must be indebted to the Elisha cycle. The relationship might be reversed.

But to this it would be not unnatural to retort that other considerations point to the greater originality and the more trustworthy historical character of the stories told about Elisha. There is in fact real ground for supposing that actions are attributed to Elijah which are elsewhere correctly attributed to Elisha. In the first place we have the commission attached to the theophany at Horeb. Here Elijah is instructed to anoint Hazael king over Syria and Jehu king over Judah, while Elisha is to be anointed as Elijah's own successor. We need lay no stress on the fact that, so far as we know, prophets

were not anointed and that the ceremony does not seem to have taken place in the case of Elisha. The word must be used loosely here ; but the commission is sufficiently satisfied by the story of Elisha's call. We have already seen, however, that no anointing of Hazael or Jehu by Elijah actually took place. The only historical justification for the representation in 1 Kings xix. 15-18 would be that Elijah, unable to fulfil the commission himself, passed it on to his successor.

Even more serious is the problem raised with reference to the conflict with Melkart. The real triumph over the foreign worship is won by Jehu under the inspiration of Elisha, and the story of Carmel, whatever the kernel of actual history, gives, it is urged, a greatly exaggerated version of Elijah's actual achievement. So spectacular a demonstration of the Divinity of Yahweh ought to have left nothing for his successors to accomplish.

Undoubtedly there is force in this argument. But there may be exaggeration on the other side. Is it correct to attribute so much to Elisha and Jehu ? The history suggests that the worship of Melkart had actually lost much of its prestige and its vogue before the revolution of Jehu. Critics have been too indiscriminate in this respect. From the fact that a single temple accommodates all the worshippers of the Baal in Israel in response to Jehu's summons they have drawn the conclusion that the worship of Melkart had never secured a large body of Hebrew adherents. They have quoted the consultation of the four hundred prophets of Yahweh, just before Ahab's fatal expedition to Ramoth-gilead, as proof that there could have been no such persecution of the prophets as is attributed to Jezebel. But it is obviously illegitimate to assume that we can argue from the situation at one period to the situation several years previously. It is very significant that Ahab's own son Jehoram, while his mother Jezebel, with all the queen-mother's prestige, was still alive yet "put away the pillar of Baal that his father had made" (2 Kings iii. 2). It would be much easier to understand the facts mentioned if the Tyrian cult had received a great set-back in the reign of Ahab.

Nor may we ever forget that no criticism of the narratives can be finally satisfactory which fails to account for the impression that Elijah made on his countrymen. If legend has been busy with the figure, this testifies to its magnitude ; and to argue that around some slender historical nucleus imagination constructed a colossal personality, which

embodied a later ideal and was tricked out with features borrowed from the tales told about Elisha, is to do no kind of justice to the grandeur of a man who left an impression on his countrymen so deep that the history of Israel furnishes extremely few parallels. The dramatic scene on Carmel, where the solitary prophet confronts and vanquishes the four hundred and fifty prophets of Melkart, at least has this advantage that it worthily explains the unique position he filled in the imagination and hopes of the people. And it also accounts for the set-back to the worship of the Tyrian Baal which indisputable facts in the later history seem to require. And if, as we shall see reason to believe, the narrative was committed to writing about half a century after the prophet's time, the memory of the events would be too fresh to permit of the story of Carmel being related unless it contained a substantial nucleus of fact.

Nor is there any reason for doubting that he visited Horeb. The parallelism with Moses, which appears not only here but to some extent in the story of his end, justifies no scepticism ; indeed it may be retorted that such a parallelism, if invented, requires a historical figure comparable with Moses to make it appropriate. But that Elijah, conscious that he stood for Yahweh's claim to the sole allegiance of Israel, should go back to the wilderness, to the spot where the original revelation had been given, is entirely in harmony with what we might expect. The close of the story does, however, present difficulties. The judgment on Israel is to be inflicted first by Hazael, king of Syria, then by Jehu, and finally by Elisha. The result is to be that only seven thousand will survive. It is true that Hazael was actually at war with Israel while the dynasty of Ahab still held the throne ; but his attacks on Israel were continued through the reign of Jehu and subsequently. Moreover the work of Jehu was in no sense a continuation of the work of Hazael. It was limited to the extirpation of the family and associates of Ahab and such worshippers of the Tyrian Baal as attended the festival to which the usurper summoned them. The reference to Elisha's completion of the task fits nothing recorded in the later history. It may be inferred, either that the author is writing long after the event, when the true sequence and the actual facts were no longer clearly remembered ; or that the narrative is early just because it has not been adjusted to the events. The former alternative is exposed to the difficulty that no writer in the later period



is likely to have constructed a forecast so inconsistent with notorious historical facts.

It is, in fact, generally allowed, even by advanced critics, that no long interval separates the prophet from the record of his activity. Duhm, for example, says that the Books of Elijah and Elisha cannot have originated very long after the activity of these men.<sup>1</sup> A similar view is expressed by Steuernagel,<sup>2</sup> Sellin,<sup>3</sup> and Gunkel.<sup>4</sup> The general critical opinion is that the narratives were fixed in writing by the close of the ninth century. For they do not reflect the ideas of the great eighth century prophets. There is no attack on the worship of the calves, no insistence on the necessity for the centralisation of worship at a single sanctuary, no attack on astral worship. Gunkel says that the figure of Elijah is on the whole faithfully preserved and not sketched from the standpoint of the later literary prophets. The saga could not have invented so mighty a figure apart from a historical background; and how in the few decades which lie between the events and the narratives could any complete distortion have taken place? He points out that we gain a good deal of confirmation from the narrative of Jehu's revolution, from the story of Athaliah and her downfall, and from the quotations made by Josephus from Menander of Ephesus.<sup>5</sup>

It remains to speak of the significance to be attached to the incidents in the prophet's career and to his work as a whole. The prediction of the drought established the prestige of the prophet and corroborated his claim to speak in the name of Israel's God. For it was made good through a long period of ever-increasing dearth. The Second Isaiah gives great prominence to the argument from prophecy in Yahweh's controversy with the heathen gods. The fact that Yahweh can with unerring certainty predict the future is, he means, a proof that He is the supreme Lord of Nature and of History. Only He who can control the future is able with absolute confidence to predict it, for otherwise His predictions may always be thwarted by a higher power. This argument belongs to a later stage in the

<sup>1</sup> *Israels Propheten* (2nd ed.), p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 370.

<sup>3</sup> *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus*, p. 18; *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Elias, Jahve und Baal*, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 43 f.



development of the religion ; but even in the time of Ahab the successful prediction of a catastrophe on this scale must have been very impressive. Yet it might be argued that it was Melkart and not Yahweh who had sent the drought, especially as we learn from Josephus that Phœnicia also suffered under it—a fact illustrated by the story of the widow of Zarepath—and that when the king of Tyre “made supplication there came great thunders.”<sup>1</sup> On Carmel, accordingly, the issue is decided. It is Yahweh and not Melkart who answers by fire, and it is Yahweh who sends the longed-for rain. The narrative raises the question whether Elijah anticipated the great prophets from the eighth century onwards in the belief that Yahweh was the only God. It suggests rather strongly that he regarded Melkart as possessing no real existence and that, like the later prophets, he could have described the heathen deities as ‘nonentities. Such contemptuous mockery of their god as Elijah addressed to his prophets would scarcely, we may feel, have been uttered if he had believed that Melkart really existed. Yet we have to reckon with the possibility that the actual language is that of the narrator rather than of the prophet. And even if the language was the prophet’s own, it is not inconceivable that Yahweh’s protagonist, who owned allegiance to the God of Israel alone, may have mocked the god of a foreign state whose worship on Hebrew soil he hotly resented, even though he may not have denied his existence. But the question whether he had formulated the belief that Yahweh was the only God is of minor importance. For what the crisis demanded was that, whether other gods existed or no, Israel was Yahweh’s people and should serve Him alone.

But this service was not completely rendered in acts of worship. The religion of Israel had from the first been an ethical religion. It included as essential elements the fulfilment of the common duties of man to man, especially justice, mercy, and the avoidance of oppression. It was these ethical requirements which Jezebel had contemptuously flouted in the murder of Naboth. Without hesitation or delay Elijah denounced the king who, though not cognisant of Jezebel’s plot, was aware that she meant to secure the vineyard for him ; and since his own fair means had failed, he must have known that foul means were likely to be employed. In this denunciation of the king Elijah no

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq.*, VIII. xiii. 2.

doubt had the people on his side. They would feel that their own rights were in peril, and it was their habit to resent any tampering with them ; moreover their conscience approved the stand Elijah had taken as true to the ideals of Israel's religion.

The story of Elijah's pilgrimage to Horeb is one of amazing power. The grandeur of the theophany is scarcely to be surpassed. Utterly discouraged, the prophet leaves his native land that he may visit the mountain where Yahweh had appeared to Moses. There, in a cleft of the rock, Moses, the creator of the nation and the founder of the religion, had stood. Passing by in all His majesty and shielding with His hand His servant from the fatal vision of His unveiled face Yahweh withdraws the hand when He has passed and the peril is over and permits him to see His back (Ex. xxxiii. 18-23). Probably it is in the same cleft of the rock that Elijah desires to stand where Moses once had stood and to recapture the experience of his mighty predecessor. It was the manner of Yahweh to appear in awe-inspiring elemental phenomena. He had come to His people in thunder and lightning, in fire which set the crest of the mountain on smoke so that it "burned with fire unto the heart of heaven, with darkness, cloud and thick darkness" (Deut. iv. 11). So terrified were the people that they implored Moses to act as their representative and let God not speak with them lest they die. So "the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was" (Ex. xx. 21). And later poets describe how again and again Yahweh comes forth attended by tempest and earthquake, by thunder and lightning. Here then where Yahweh had disclosed Himself to Moses Elijah seeks Him, assured that if he can but meet Him at the mountain where He had first made Himself known and where communion with Him could be realised in its intensest form he might regain the power and the courage he needed for his superhuman task. The elemental forces are unleashed—hurricane, earthquake, and fire. But the prophet feels that not one of them has brought the experience which he craves. God Himself is not to be found in any of them. Was then this display of Nature's stupendous forces a mockery, eviscerated of the Divine presence with which in earlier days they had been charged? No, for while God Himself is not in them they are the harbingers of His coming. Suddenly the appalling uproar ceases and the utter stillness of the desert returns. There steals to his ear a soft whisper and he

knows that now at last Yahweh Himself is here. But what is meant by this impressive contrast between the wild havoc of natural forces in which God is not present and the gentle murmur in which His voice is heard? The lesson which it is often thought Elijah should learn from it is that the slaughter of the prophets of Melkart was a deed of violence utterly out of harmony with the nature and the will of God. For the most congenial medium in which the Divine nature expressed itself was not the furious hurricane, the disastrous earthquake or the raging flame. Not through such forces, loud yet inarticulate, but in the human voice, gentle yet distinct, was He most truly to be heard. Therefore His Servant must learn to abandon for the future all methods of violence. But this can scarcely be the lesson intended. If the commission of triple anointing was given as the immediate sequel, it is clear that a judgment was contemplated far more terrible than Elijah himself had executed, so devastating that all the worshippers of Melkart will be exterminated and only the seven thousand who have stood firm in their loyalty to Yahweh will survive. It is true that a rebuke is implied; but it is conveyed in the question "What doest thou here, Elijah?" He had been wrong in leaving his post, wrong in thinking that Yahweh was more truly to be found at Horeb than in Palestine. His attempt to experience for himself what Moses had experienced was an error. If Horeb was the Mecca of Hebrew religion, yet a pilgrimage to Horeb was no part of Elijah's duty. The ancient forms of the theophany are revived but their ancient virtue has gone out of them. They belong to a more primitive stage of revelation and they have now become obsolete. It is useless to dwell on the dead past or seek to reanimate it. His task is in the present, his mission is to create the future, his place is in his own country, his mission to his own contemporaries. He must not seek the living among the dead or imagine that a return to Moses is other than a retrograde step. The God of Moses is indeed the God of Elijah, but through the centuries which stretch between them His purposes have been unfolded and His nature more clearly revealed. He is rebuked in the question "What doest thou here, Elijah?" He receives his marching orders in the command "Go, return."

The work which Elijah did was of incalculable value for the religion of Israel. It was the lofty privilege of that people to be the trustee for monotheism. Even if at that time monotheism was not

the prophet's explicit and formulated creed, yet the monolatry which he undoubtedly championed took him a long way on the road. If the policy of the Court had been accepted, the religion would have lapsed into polytheism and the cause for which Israel stood would have been grievously compromised, if not irretrievably ruined. He did not indeed stand alone, but he towered far above all his fellow-workers in his vindication of Yahweh's right to the sole allegiance of His people. And his monolatry was an ethical monolatry. This found striking expression in his fearless denunciation of Ahab for the crime of Jezreel ; but also in his protest against the worship of Melkart. For that worship was stained by dark and revolting impurity and its establishment in Israel would have inevitably led to a disastrous corruption of morals. Not without reason did later generations find in him the fittest companion to couple with the great founder of the religion.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The best literature on Elijah is to be found for the most part in works of a more comprehensive scope. The student should consult the following : the Dictionaries of the Bible ; the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (eleventh edition) ; the commentaries on Kings by Benzinger, Kittel, Burney, Skinner, Barnes, Gressmann (in *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*—the second edition has been considerably revised), Eissfeldt in Kautzsch's *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (fourth edition, edited by Bertholet) ; Histories of Israel by Stade, Wellhausen, Kittel, H. P. Smith, Guthe, Sellin ; Introductions to the Old Testament by Kuenen, König, Driver, Cornill, Steuernagel, Sellin ; Histories of the Religion of Israel by Smend, Stade, Marti, Kautzsch (in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* : Extra Volume), H. P. Smith, König, Welch, Holscher ; Works on Hebrew Prophecy by W. Robertson Smith, Cornill, A. R. Gordon, Holscher, Duhm, Gunkel, Sellin, T. H. Robinson, J. M. P. Smith.

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To these should be added Gunkel, *Elias, Jahve und Baal* (1906) ; Broegemann, *De fonte, qui est de Elia, quæstiones selectæ* (1910) ; Meinhold, *Der Heilige Rest* (1903), and *Einführung in das Alte Testament* (second edition, 1926).

# THE CULT OF KING DUNGI<sup>1</sup> DURING THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR.

BY THE REVEREND T. FISH.

THE John Rylands collection of Sumerian tablets from Drehem contains three tablets which witness to the cult of Dungi during the third dynasty of Ur, *c.* 2300 B.C.

The following are the relevant items :—

J.R., 172 : I udu-she gish-gu-za <sup>d</sup>Dun-gi . . . itu shes-da-kú,  
Bur Sin 1.

J.R., 175 : I síl, En <sup>d</sup>Innina, é-mu ki-a-nag <sup>d</sup>Dun-gi-ra . . .  
sha(g) Uri <sup>Ki</sup>-ma, itu ū-ne-kú, Bur Sin 1.

J.R., 411 : I udu-she nig-ku <sup>d</sup>Dun-gi-ra é-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-la-ta, . . .  
itu she-gūr-kud, mu Ur-bi-lum<sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥúl.

The evidence for the cult of Dungi during this period may be read on the contemporary tablets found at Lagash, Umma, and Drehem. That evidence is presented here. The method of presentation has been determined by two facts which are sometimes neglected. The first fact is that, although Lagash, Umma, and Drehem were at this time Sumerian towns, subject to the same authority at Ur, and not far distant from each other, it would be an error to suppose that they had a common calendar, pantheon or cult—even cult language. The fact is, as a study of the tablets shows, that each of these towns had at this period, much that was proper to itself and not found in the other towns, in the matter of religion and organization. Hence, the place from which the evidence comes, must always be named.

The second fact is that cults date their birth, growth, and, possibly, death in time. It is an error to presume that what is a fact this year was a fact last year. Therefore, dates of texts from which evidence is taken, must be given.

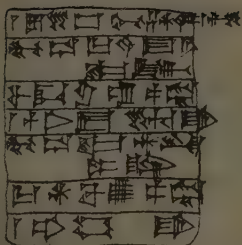
<sup>1</sup> The more familiar reading *Dungi* has been retained throughout. Latterly, a well-established reading *Shulgi* has been adopted.



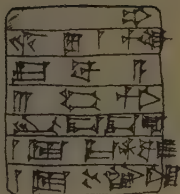
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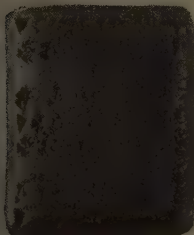
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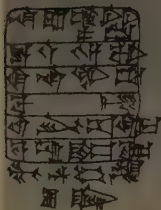
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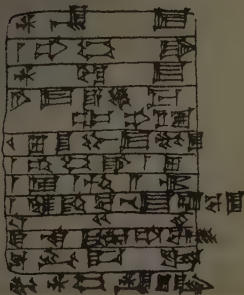


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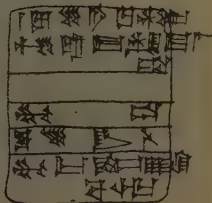


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REVERSE



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Tablets dating from this dynasty have been published from Ur, Adab, and Nippur. Those which I have seen do not provide anything of moment for the present purpose.

### The Evidence from Lagash.

#### I. Offerings to Dungi.

(a) "10 sicles d'huile pour la néoménie et le 15<sup>e</sup> jour á Dungi, *itu gan-mash*" (Inv. Tab. Telloh, II., 955). No year date. "10 sicles d'huile : offrandes (*esh-esh*) de la néoménie et du 15<sup>e</sup> jour á Dungi, mois des semences." No year date (*ib.*, 959).

So too, Rec. Trav., XVIII., p. 65 (*itu shu-numun*); p. 67, col. 5 (*itu gan-mash*), Gimil Sin<sup>1</sup>; Lau, O.B.T.R., 28 (*itu ezen-dDungi*; no year date).

(b) Milk for <sup>d</sup>Dungi, *itu e-lal-a*; no year date (Inv. Tab. Telloh, IV., 7311).

(c) Drink and land produce for <sup>d</sup>Dungi, *itu ezen dBau* (*ib.*, II., 3311); *itu she-il-la* (Amherst Tablets, 56); *itu ezen dDungi* (Rev. d'Assyr., III., p. 134; Inv. Tab. Telloh, II., 822). All undated.

(d) Sheep and goats for Dungi, *itu she-il-la* (Amherst Tab., 56).

(e) General: The contents of a box of tablets record "*sá-dú(g) dingir-ri-ne dNe-gún, dNina, dDun-gi and dNin-mar<sup>ki</sup>*" (Inv. Tab. Telloh, III., 6045), Bur Sin 7.

"Des offrandes de la néoménie et du 15<sup>e</sup> jour á Dungi . . . *itu dim-kú* (*ib.*, II., 973); "Des offrandes á . . . <sup>d</sup>Dungi (*nig ezen-ma dDun-gi-ra*), mois de <sup>d</sup>Dungi et de <sup>d</sup>Bau : no year date (*ib.*, 875); "Offrandes propitiatoires á Dungi, mois de Bau" (*ib.*, 1020); "Ki-a-nag <sup>d</sup>Dungi," CT. VII., 13166, 17775; TU., 173.

#### II. The Temple of Dungi.

(a) The complete formula of the 37th year of Dungi records the existence of a temple of Dungi: *mu é-BA-SHA-ISH, dDa-gán é-dDun-gi-ra ba-dū*.

(b) There are only two references to a temple of Dungi before this date on Lagash tablets: Inv. Tab. Telloh, IV., 7343, dated Dungi 35, and *ib.*, 7924, dated Dungi 34.

- (c) There is mention on Lagash texts of
- (i) officials of the temple of Dungi :—keeper of the records, Inv. T.T., IV., 7343 ; *gím-har*, female engaged at corn-mill, *ib.*, 7305 ; *né-sí(g)-ga*, *ib.*, III., 5247 ; *shabra*, diviner, *ib.*, II., 1037 ; ‘*shú-mah gal*,’ *ib.*, IV., 7924 ; and *ùg-il*, porters, *ib.*, 7305.
  - (ii) Employees of the temple : cp. Inv. T.T., II., 790, and 970 ; and a pay list of such : Hussey, II., 4, Rev., I., 10.
  - (iii) Animals of the temple : cp. Inv. T.T., II., 877.
  - (iv) Drink for the temple : cp. Lau, O.B.T.R., 59.
  - (v) Delivery of she, barley to the temple : cp. Reisner, T.U., 94, VII., 9, etc.
  - (vi) *A-sha(g)*, field of the temple : C.T., IX., plate 49 ; gan : T.U., 5, VI., 6. Then, naturally, *engar*, farmer, of Dungi : Lau, O.B.T.R., 135.

To sum up the Lagash evidence :—

(1) We may assume, though we have no explicit testimony, that the temple of Dungi referred to on Lagash texts, was a temple *at* Lagash. Probably, it was not an independent temple, but a shrine in a larger temple dedicated to an older and more celebrated deity. It is not necessary to identify Dungi's temple at Lagash with the temple commemorated in the formula of the 37th year of Dungi.

(2) The offerings at Lagash were usually of fats, grain, and drink, and rarely of animals.

(3) The earliest dated Lagash tablet recording an offering to Dungi is of 7th of Bur Sin. Offerings to Dungi were made during any month of the year, and were not limited to the month of the feast of Dungi.

(4) Radau, in his pioneer “Early Babylonian History,” p. 314, stated : “It is natural to suppose that Dungi himself dedicated this month [*itu ezen-d Dungi*] as a feast in his own honour, in which sacrifices were to be offered to him as god.” “Also the day of the new moon and the 15th day were sacred to him during his reign.” p. 315.

Radau based his statement on Lagash texts. Much evidence has been published since he wrote, 1900. That evidence is that only texts from Lagash record offerings to Dungi during the month of his feast : Rev. d'Assyr., p. 134 ; Inv. T.T., II., 822 and 875 ; that

offerings were made to Dungi during other months, and that in point of fact, the majority of offerings made to Dungi, recorded on Lagash tablets, were made in other months. Further, offerings to Dungi, dated '*itu ezen-<sup>d</sup>Dun-gi*,' bear no year date, and therefore it is hazardous to date the facts they record, the introduction of those facts, and the persons who introduced them, with precision.

Evidence since Radau's statement, has confirmed that part of it which says that the day of the new moon and the 15th day were sacred to Dungi. But the evidence shows that offerings were made to other deities besides Dungi, e.g. Rec. Trav., XVIII., p. 66. 17 : drink and flour "*ud-sar ud-15-kam, <sup>d</sup>Gu-de-a pa-te-si*." Further, not one of the tablets recording offerings to Dungi on these days is dated in Dungi's reign. The only date is the first year of Gimil Sin, ten years after Dungi's death. It may be, therefore, that this particular item in the cult of Dungi came in later than the reign of Dungi.

#### The Evidence from Umma.

##### I. The offerings to Dungi included :

(a) Animals : sheep and goats, *itu ezen-<sup>d</sup>Dun-gi*, Bur Sin 5 (Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch., 1915, p. 126, no. I) ; *itu <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi, mu Sha-ash-ru<sup>ki</sup> ba-húl* (*ib.*, no. II) ; *itu é-itu-ash, mu Sha-ash-ru<sup>ki</sup> a-du 2-kam ba-húl* (Keiser, Cuneiform Bullae, 45) ; *itu muru(b)*, 8 Bur Sin (*ib.*, 44) ; *itu ezen-<sup>d</sup>Bur-<sup>d</sup>Sin*, 8 Bur Sin (*ib.*, 23).

(b) Barley (Keiser, S.T.D., 260, 8), *itu pap-ú-e*, B.S., 9 ; bread, Gimil Sin 3 (*ib.*, 271, II) ; drink, *itu pap-ú-e, mu Sha-ash-ru-um<sup>ki</sup>* (Contenau, Journ. Asiat., 1914, p. 620, col. 1, 7).

II. In the lists of deities to whom offerings are made, Dungi either is coupled with <sup>d</sup>Shara, the chief deity of Umma (cp. *sá-dú(g) <sup>d</sup>Shara ù sá-dú(g) <sup>d</sup>Dun-gi*, Cont. Hist. Econ. Umma, 85 f. 4), or, and normally, comes next to <sup>d</sup>Shara in order of deities (cp. sheep <sup>d</sup>Shara of Umma, sheep to <sup>d</sup>Dungi, Keiser, C.B., 2, 3, 44, 45 ; also P.S.B.A., 1915, pp. 128-132, nos. III. to VII.).

III. Definite mention is made of offerings to Dungi in the temple of Shara : *she <sup>d</sup>Dun-gi sha(g) é-<sup>d</sup>Shara* : Keiser, S.T.D., 260, 8.

IV. And of a distinct é-<sup>d</sup>Dungi. In connection with this temple of Dungi are mentioned : animals (Keiser, S.T.D., 237, 130) ; skins of animals (Genouillac Textes économiques d'Oumma, A.O., 5672) ; male and female slaves (*ib.*, 5668, 5670 ; Keiser, S.T.D., 273).



The earliest dated Umma tablet which mentions the temple of Dungi, is of the 37th and 38th year of Dungi (Genouillac, T.E.O., 5672).

V. The connection between the cult of Dungi and the temple of the god Shara seems to be shown on the tablet, P.S.B.A., 1915, p. 126, no. 1.: "*I mash, <sup>d</sup>Dungi é <sup>d</sup>Shara tu(r)-ra, . . . shu-nigin 4 udu-she, shu-nigin 3 udu-ú, sá dú(g) šu-a-gi-na <sup>d</sup>Dun-gi, . . . itu ezen-<sup>d</sup> Dungi, Bur Sin 5.*"

VI. Offerings were made to Dungi during any month of the year; *itu muru(b)*, *itu she-kar-ra-gál*, *itu é-itu-ash*, *itu Dumu-zi* (cp. P.S.B.A., loc. cit., nos. IV. V. VI. VII.); *itu pap-ú-e* (Keiser, S.T.D., 260); *itu ezen-<sup>d</sup> Bur-<sup>d</sup>Sin* (Keiser, C.B., 23); *itu she-gur-kud* (Contenau, H.E.U., 85).

Once only is a tablet, recording an offering to Dungi, dated in the month of the feast of Dungi (P.S.B.A., loc. cit., no. I.).

VII. There is evidence from Umma, though not as much as from Lagash, that Dungi was honoured on the day of the new moon and on the 15th day.

(a) Sheep for the *ud-sar gu-la*, for the 6th and 7th days, and for the *ud-sar ud-15*, are described as offerings to Dungi (*sá-dú(g) <sup>d</sup>Dungi*, G.D.D., 372: transcribed in *Orientalia*, 1925, no. 18, p. 42), *itu é-itu-6*: BS., 7.

(b) Skins and heads(?) of sheep for the deities Ninurra, Dungi, Bur Sin, and Gimil Sin are described as for, or on, *ud-sar ud-15* (Bedale, *Sumerian Texts from Umma*, 51.7f).

(c) G.D.D., 465, 4-21 (transcribed by Schneider, loc. cit.):—

360 *sa-gi sá-dú(g) shu-a-gi-na* 20 *sa-gi ud-sar ù é-ud-15 ki-a-nag Ur-<sup>d</sup>Engur*,

1200 *sa-gi sá-dú(g) shu-a-gi-na* 80 *sa-gi ud-sar ù é-ud-15 ki-a-nag <sup>d</sup>Dun-gi*,

1200 *sa-gi sá-dú(g) shu-a-gi-na* 80 *sa-gi ud-sar ù é-ud-15 ki-a-nag <sup>d</sup>Bur <sup>d</sup>Sin*,

1200 *sa-gi sá-dú(g) shu-a-gi-na* 80 *sa-gi ud-sar ù é-ud-15 ki-a-nag <sup>d</sup>Gimil <sup>d</sup>Sin*.

#### The Evidence from Drehem.

I. The offerings to Dungi are always animals.

II. The earliest dated Drehem record of an offering to Dungi is

dated the last month of the last year of Dungi's reign : *itu she-gur-kud, mu Ha-ar-shi<sup>ki</sup> ba-húl* (Keiser, S.T.D., 226).

Probably Dungi was already dead. With Keiser's text cp. Nies, U.D.T., 116 : "4 *ganam-she ki-a-nag<sup>d</sup> Dun-gi*, . . . *itu ud 12 ba-zal*, . . . *itu she-gur-kud*, Dungi 46. At Ur, the 3rd month of the following year, a lamb is given for the *ki-a-nag<sup>d</sup> Dun-gi-ra* (J.R., 175). *Ki-a-nag* may be translated as the place of libation. An undated Lagash text, C.T., VII., plate 47, refers to slaves to, or for, the *ki-a-nag of Dungi* and his predecessor, Ur<sup>d</sup>Engur.

III. The months during which offerings are made in honour of Dungi include all the months of the calendar except the month of the feast of Dungi and the two months of Ninazu ! *itu mash-dū-kú* (Legrain, T.R.U., 299) ; *itu shes-da-kú* (*ib.*, 370) ; *itu ū-ne-kú* (J.R., 175) ; *itu á-ki-ti* (Genouillac, T.D., 5482) ; *itu shu-esh-sha* (C.T., XXXII., pl. 23) ; *itu ezen-mah* (Gen., T.D., 5514) ; *itu ezen-an-na* (*ib.*, 5500) ; *itu ezen me-ki-gál* (Leg., T.R.U., 288) ; *itu she-gur-kud* (J.R., 411).

This may be mere coincidence. It is, however, interesting that, though there are literally scores of Drehem texts dated in this month, records of offerings to numerous deities during this month, not one tablet records an offering to Dungi during the month that bears his name.

IV. The only explicit evidence of cult of Dungi on the day of the new moon and the 15th day is S.A., 60, Rev. d'Assyr., 1912, p. 46 : *I udu-she é-ud-15, I udu-she é-ud-sar nig-dirig sá-dú(g)<sup>d</sup> Dun-gi-ra*, . . . *itu shes-da-kú*, B.S. 1 ?

V. Keiser, S.T.D., 237, is dated *itu mash-dū-kú*, which is a Drehem month. But according to the general summary, line 228 f., the details recorded seem to have been transacted in Umma, where we know there was a temple of Dungi. If, then, the temple of Dungi mentioned in this text, line 130, was not at Drehem but at Umma, then there is not a single mention of a temple of Dungi on Drehem tablets.

Legrain has suggested "On pourrait conclure par hypothèse que Dréhem couvre l'emplacement ancien de BĀ-SA-ISH <sup>d</sup>Da-gán" (Les Temps des Rois d'Ur, p. 10). The identification may be correct. But the full formula of the year 37 of Dungi is *mu é-BĀ-SHA-ISH<sup>d</sup> Da-gán é-<sup>d</sup> Dun-gi-ra ba-dū*. If BĀ-SHA-ISH

<sup>d</sup>Dagan were Drehem, we should expect that Drehem texts would refer, at least occasionally, to a temple of Dungi. But, as has been said, there is only one text which contains any such reference, and that is almost certainly not a Drehem text.

Parenthetically, it may be mentioned that except for three personal names there is not, on the multitude of Drehem texts published hitherto, a single reference to any cult of Dagan—a remarkable fact, if Drehem is to be identified with BĀ-SHA-ISH <sup>d</sup>Dagan.

Legrain makes a further suggestion concerning Drehem. “Cette demeure fameuse ne serait-elle pas un des grands sanctuaires de Nippur, la ville sainte d’Enlil, dont Dréhem est une dépendance ?” (p. 10). This too is possible. And yet, though Drehem texts give positive information concerning the cult of Dungi at Nippur, they never mention any *temple* of Dungi there. A mere argument from silence, to be sure, and therefore not conclusive. A little confirmation comes from the fact that the few published Nippur texts of this period contain no reference to a temple of Dungi there.

VI. From Drehem texts we learn that the cult of Dungi obtained also at Ha-a<sup>ki</sup> in the temple of <sup>d</sup>Asharu-lù-du(g), Gen., T.D., 5482, Rev., I., 16, 17, and in the temple of <sup>d</sup>Nin-sún, *ib.*, 5514, Rev. 3, 5.

VII. Dungi is not mentioned together with other gods as honoured in the temples of Enlil and Ninlil, the chiefs of the Nippur pantheon.

VIII. Until the tablets found during the present excavations at Ur are published, it would be unwise to decide the personnel of the pantheon there during this period. But it is interesting that the Drehem texts often refer to offerings and deities at Ur; only once (J.R. 175) they record offerings, but never a temple, to Dungi at Ur.

It is clear from what has been written above that Dungi was honoured as a god at Lagash, Umma, Drehem, and Ur; it is not certain that he was so honoured at Ur and Nippur. It is clear, too, that there was a temple in honour of Dungi, perhaps at Lagash and Umma, during his lifetime and as early as his 34th year, according to the Lagash texts, and his 37th year, according to the Umma texts; it is not certain when or where a temple was first set up to <sup>d</sup>Dungi. It is natural to suppose that because there were both temple and feast of Dungi in his lifetime, there would be offerings to him in his lifetime; the evidence of the tablets published up to date, records no offering to Dungi during his lifetime. All dated evidence is posthumous.

## WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS  
IN SYRIAC AND GARSHŪNĪ

BY A. MINGANA.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS  
BY RENDEL HARRIS.

FASC. 2.

- (i) *A New Jeremiah Apocryphon.*
- (ii) *A New Life of John the Baptist.*
- (iii) *Some Uncanonical Psalms.*

### INTRODUCTIONS.

BY RENDEL HARRIS.

#### I.

#### A NEW JEREMIAH APOCRYPHON.

IT is well known to students of Apocryphal literature that a whole region of that fascinating, but perplexing, subject is covered by works assigned to Jeremiah and his companions, in which the fortunes of an exiled nation are depicted and their hopes of resuscitation and of return are affirmed, with a guarded language and obscure intimations for which Apocalypse is the proper and recognised vehicle. All the great historic figures of the Old Testament, or such as were by common consent regarded as historic, become in turn the lay-figures for the drapery of the Apocalypst when he wishes to paint approaching desolations, or, in the depth of such desolations, to announce the approaching consolations of Israel. We might say that in Jewish literature (including its prolongation in Christian literature), Apocalypse reigned from Adam to Bar Kochba : but even this lower limit is not

low enough ; for there are Apocalypses produced right down to the Middle Ages, whenever days were dark enough to require, or a distant and brightening horizon to suggest them. The rise of Islam is as good ground for an Apocalyptic literature as the various sieges of Jerusalem ; Mohammed can be as suggestive as Vespasian or Titus. And when we find as in the present tract a new member of the company which bear the names of Jeremiah and his friends, we need not be surprised that the tradition has lasted so long ; we may say of Jeremiah that he being dead yet speaketh ; and as a matter of fact, he has been dead just as many times as he may be wanted to speak ; so here he is again, as vocal as ever, and we must try and find the date and the provenance of his latest resurrection.

All the great Apocalypses fall, as I think I said somewhere, within the penumbra of the Canonical literature, some of them being actually canonised. Jeremiah and his disciple Baruch will supply us with illustrations. We have not only the Biblical Baruch, but there is also the Apocalypse of Baruch, preserved in Syriac and first edited by Ceriani. As we have shown in a recent publication of Bar Şalibi's reply to a Melchite proselytiser, this Syriac Apocalypse was clearly a part of Bar Şalibi's Canon ; and the reference to it here may illustrate the way in which the frontier of the Canon fluctuates from time to time and from country to country. A somewhat similar illustration may be found in the Greek Apocalypse which I re-edited in 1889 under the title of the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*, and which I assigned to the year 136 A.D., for here we found that the Greek Service Books actually appoint this book to be read on the day when they commemorate with the Jews the fall of the beloved city. We must admit that the *Rest of the Words of Baruch* has crept up very close to canonical dignity. When I was editing this work (of which more presently) I made the following observation (p. 9) :—

“In addition to the three Baruch books to which we have been alluding (Apocryphal Baruch, or simply Baruch, Apocalyptic Baruch, and Christian Baruch) *it is very likely that there are other Baruch and Jeremiah books which have perished.*”

How interesting to find one of these lost books coming to light again, nearly forty years after the published lament for its disappear-



ance : and to myself, how peculiarly interesting to find that the new volume (as we shall see presently) incorporates a large part of what was included in the Christian Baruch, and that it has fallen into my hands to be interpreted, and into the hands of Dr. Mingana, my good friend and colleague in all matters where I am able to accompany him.

The reader will see, at a glance, that the recovered document has come to light from an unexpected quarter. It is a Christian Arabic book, which we distinguish from the actually translated works of Christian fathers in the Arabic tongue, by the term *Garshuni*; that is, it is a book written in Syriac characters, but in the Arabic language, the said language being commonly popular speech rather than the classical or semi-classical variety. We may imagine that the reason for this duality in the presentation of Christian books, according to which an author speaks in one tongue and writes in another, was sometimes due to the desire to escape Moslem criticism. There was a kind of protection, a guarantee of free speech, about a book written in the Syriac character. Such a protection was appropriate to books like this Apocalypse of ours, which could add to the obscurity inherent in the subject the impenetrability of a scarcely legible script. Popular writings escaped notice and veiled writings became more obscure when transmitted through the medium of Garshuni. Our document is a good illustration of this : the obscurity which it affects has prevented scholars from invading the area in which it is found. We expect to see a number of similar documents, and we will make a personal confession, in view of what is to be found, that we will not, in the future, as we have done in the past, despise a document because it is written in what we have called Christian Arabic.

Now let us make a brief analysis of the book before us. We will give a summary of its contents, and after that will discuss the sources from which the writer has drawn and the relation of the book to the Apocalyptic literature generally. We premise that much of the Garshuni literature to which we have been referring is translated from Syriac into the popular Arabic ; the present book is no exception to the general rule : it is a Syriac book : whence the Syriac text came from is another matter. We shall probably find out that there is a Greek text underlying the Syriac. The story begins in true Biblical manner and often in the very terms of the Old Testament with the messages of Jeremiah the prophet to King Zedekiah and to the

people of Jerusalem. They have abandoned Jahweh and gone after Baal and Zeus (!) Judgment is threatened to prince and people. Thereupon Jeremiah is thrown into a muddy prison, as in the Old Testament, after a dramatic dispute with a false prophet, Hananiah, whom again we recognise as an ancient Biblical friend. Jeremiah is rescued from the mire by his servant Ebedmelech, who now becomes as in the Bible a leading character in the Passion Play of Jeremiah. The prophet under Divine compulsion goes a second time to King Zedekiah and renews the vision of approaching judgment, chains and slavery for the king, captivity and massacre for the people. Jeremiah sends his disciple Baruch to the king with a letter in which the word of the Lord is contained (apparently an Apocalypse of some sort). Baruch gets a flogging. Jeremiah is sent for; he utters further Biblical announcements of the coming of the Chaldeans. He is promptly sent back to prison, where he would have died, if it had not been for the friendly offices of his servant Ebedmelech, who bribes the gaoler and keeps alive the saint. After twenty-one days he is released, and it is promised to Ebedmelech that he shall not see the ruin of the city nor taste death until the calamity of the people is past and the wrath of God removed. This mysterious promise and its fulfilment will become the foundation of a whole Act of the sacred drama. Meanwhile Zedekiah goes from bad to worse; he desecrates the sanctuary, which he transfers to Baal and Zeus, and does many impious deeds (which remind one in some details of Herod the Great). At last the crash comes. Jeremiah's prayers have now only a limited acceptance. The Almighty sends his angels on to the scene. Michael goes to Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon and incites him to war against the Jews. To our surprise we find that the King of Babylon objects; he is a friend of the Jews, not an enemy. He does not want to hurt the people of God. He sends great gifts and a special embassy to Jerusalem. For some reason not very clear the King of Babylon is enraged with the reception of his embassy, and he calls on Cyrus (sic!), his general, to prepare war. But he is still very reluctant, and only moves forward under a sign from heaven. The Chaldeans approach Jerusalem. In the interim Ebedmelech is sent into the country to fetch fresh fruits and to sleep a long sleep through the approaching captivity. The writer now begins to use the *Last Words of Baruch*, as we shall see more clearly presently.

When Nebuchadnezzar, for whom the writer has a kindly feeling, with the aid of Cyrus, for whom he, strange to say, has no affection, has taken the city, he calls for Jeremiah whom he recognises as a true prophet. Jeremiah makes his last appeal to the Most High, but he is told to take a lamp and see if he can find a single honest man, for whose sake the city may be spared. Jeremiah is now playing the part of Abraham the Patriarch and Diogenes the Cynic, but cannot find his honest man. Knowing the city to be doomed, he makes plans for secreting the vessels and the vestments of the sanctuary, and for the preservation of the Holy Fire, as in the books of the Maccabees. He then puts on sackcloth and marches to Babylon with the captives. The horrors of deportation are told, and the toils and privations of the people are described. So matters go on for the allotted seventy years until Nebuchadnezzar dies and is succeeded by his general Cyrus, who makes the lot of the people worse with added burdens and increasing cruelties.

At this point of the story Ezra comes on the scene, a person who will be wanted in the time of the regeneration of Israel. He is one of the children of the captivity, and naturally suffers with the rest of the Israelite youth from the over-lordship of the Babylonian boys. The writer borrows a framework for introducing Ezra from the *Gospel of the Infancy*. Like Jesus, he breaks his pitcher at the well, and when the boys deride him, he folds his cloak into a water-tight carrier. Then incensed in heart, and grieved with their contempt, he pours out supplication to the Most High. The prayer and the miracle mark him out as the one who shall deliver the people from captivity. Ezra and his companions thereupon separate themselves from the wanton Babylonian boys, and Ezra works another miracle and raises a flood of water which well-nigh drowned the world, and would indeed have done so, if God had not already made contract against such a disaster.

Cyrus is now on the throne. He insists on a song from the refugees of seventy years ago; when the people sing, the earth quakes and the song is heard in Jerusalem. Evidently the day of redemption is at hand. Ezra and Daniel and Ezekiel then lay their heads together and go out into the wilderness to offer a sacrifice to God and to seek a sign from heaven. Michael is sent down and consumes their sacrifice by fire which he produces from his wand.

Now let us return to Jeremiah, who appears after all not to have left the city, but remained in a sepulchre. (There seems to be some confusion here.) Here Michael the archangel finds him resuming his intercessions for Israel. Michael takes him to Babylon, or finds him there, and bids him assemble the people, who are busy making bricks as in Egypt, and promises him that if Cyrus hardens his heart like Pharaoh, he shall be served as Pharaoh was. Cyrus takes the hint, plays Pharaoh faithfully, and then the thunder clouds of divine wrath appear in the sky. Let my people go, says the prophet. Yes, do go, says Babylon : and away they go with their hearts full of joy and their pockets full of money ; and they sing a song in a strange land, because they are exchanging it for their fatherland.

Now we come to the sleeper who had gone to the gardens to fetch fruit, figs, and grapes. He has fallen asleep in the heat, with the basket under his head, while over him a cave or rock had made shelter. This part of the story is a modification of that in the *Last Words of Baruch*, but wanting somewhat of the dramatic force of the latter. Still it is not wholly lacking. It is a fine situation when one wakes from a sleep of seventy years and finds everything changed except himself and his basket of figs, which are as fresh as if they too had slept. The old man whom he meets, with whom he has a chronological dispute, tells him that Jeremiah has just returned from captivity, and the people are jubilating and the flags flying, and it is like the Feast of Tabernacles, or the Triumphal Entry, for which the writer quotes the *Diatessaron of Tatian*. Ebedmelech has a great welcome from Jeremiah, and great honour from the people, who indite a song of praise in the good Hebrew manner for all that has occurred.

The rest of the story relates to the discovery and restoration of the lost vessels of the sanctuary, which Jeremiah puts in their proper place, and the vestments on the proper people ; while on all hands a new covenant is assented to, for a fresh allegiance to Jahweh, and a final desertion of Baal and of Zeus. The story does not say what became of Jeremiah, who ought to be stoned, according to the tradition in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and the *Last Words of Baruch*. But perhaps the writer thought it best not to attach the gloom of a tragedy to the joys of the Return. So he only says that while Jeremiah lived, the people were faithful to their covenant.



We may now go on to say something about the time when our Apocrypha was produced, which depends in part on the sources which have been employed. The simplest method of proceeding will be to establish superior limits of time, by reference to authors quoted whose date is more or less exactly defined.

For example, we have suggested that our Jeremiah has employed an incident in the Apocryphal *Gospel of the Infancy*, where Jesus carries water in his cloak, after his pitcher has been broken. It may be asked how we know that priority belongs to the *Gospel of the Infancy*. May not Jesus' miracle have copied Ezra's, since both are apocryphal? The answer to this is very simple; we know the reason for the Jesus miracle, and the reason, when stated, excludes the possible borrowing from Jeremiah. The *Gospel of the Infancy* is concerned with the proofs of the Divine Nature of Christ, especially of Christ as Creator, fulfilling his own statement that the Son does the same works as the Father. Now amongst the proof-texts which the Old Testament was supposed to furnish for this argument, there is in the book of Proverbs, at the 30th chapter, a fine poetical outburst taken from some Oriental collection, in which the reader is asked :

“Who hath ascended up into heaven, or descended? Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? *Who hath bound the waters in a garment?* Who hath established all the ends of the earth? What is his name, and *what is his son's name*, if thou canst tell?”

The passage was supposed to contain a reference to the Son of God; and by the simple expedient of a miraculous carrying of water in a garment, the argument for Divine Sonship became irresistible.

We see, then, the origin of the story in the *Infancy Gospel*: it is not borrowed from the Apocryphal Jeremiah, but conversely. The date of the *Infancy Gospel* has never been closely fixed, but it occurs in many versions and has very early MS. tradition, so that it is hardly likely to be as late as the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> Another landmark was

<sup>1</sup> Its most popular story is the one where Jesus makes mud sparrows, and bids them fly away, a tale which caught the fancy of Mohammed. It will be noted that this story, also, is designed to prove Christ's creative power, in accordance with the dictum of the Almighty in the first chapter of Genesis, which caused fowl to fly upon the face of the firmament. It is curious in this



the reference in the text of Jeremiah to the rejoicings of the people on their return from captivity, which are cast in the mould of the Triumphal Entry of Jesus to Jerusalem and expressed in the terms of the Arabic *Diatessaron of Tatian*. The matter is so interesting from various points of view, that we may devote a little space to it.

When Ebedmelech comes back from his long sleep at Jerusalem, and has been convinced of the reality of that portentous ecstasy by an old man whom he meets, the latter says to him :

“This month is the month of Nisan, and this day is the first day in which the prophet Jeremiah reached Jerusalem, after a stay of seventy years in captivity. The words that you utter square with one another. Lo ! the people are coming, bringing with them branches of palm trees, and holding in their hands twigs of aromatic bushes and olive trees.”

It is evident that the language is here coloured by the account of the Triumphal Entry, and the reference to the carrying of palm branches shows that it is the Gospel of John that is being drawn on. The language itself is peculiar ; the text says ‘ hearts of palm trees ’ or ‘ pith of palm trees ’. Now in an early Irish Gospel (known as Cod. 1 or Armachanus) we get a similar rendering of the *βᾶτα* of John xiii. 2 (*medullas palmarum*). Comparison with other attempts to render the word into Latin suggests that this is the first Latin rendering, and since we get a similar translation in the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii., 40, where the feast of Tabernacles is described, as well as in the Arabic *Diatessaron*, we may say that it is a Syriac Gospel of John, which has furnished the ‘ pith of the palms ’ both to East and West. This must then be Tatian’s translation, made under the influence of the Peshitta of the Old Testament. Since then our Apocryphal Jeremiah is describing a Jerusalem situation, it is John xiii., 2 that has influenced him, and not the prescriptions for the Feast of Tabernacles. The date of production of *Diatessaron*, then, is a superior limit of time to our Apocryphon. A reference to the margins and footnotes will show that the Apocryphal writer has a close acquaintance with the text of the Gospels generally, and that he is

connection to note that the *Qur’ān* (ix, 30) maintains the divinity of Christ as a Christian dogma and the divinity of Ezra as a Jewish belief. Perhaps in either case on account of the argument from Prov. xxx. and its illustrated miracle.

under the influence of the Infancy sections both in Matthew and in Luke. With almost equal confidence we may affirm that he was acquainted with the Apocryphal *Book of Enoch*, from whom he borrows an archangel (Satanael) upon occasion. He also knows the *seven* archangels of Enoch. For the matter of that, it would be difficult to find a writer of this period, whether canonical or apocryphal, who is not under the influence of Enoch.

We come now to the most obvious of all the sources employed by our writer ; a large part of his story, viz. the adventures of Ebedmelech, is taken from the *Last Words of Baruch*. This work acquires a special interest for us in view of its partial absorption by the newly found Apocalypse ; and, as I said above, it is one of my earliest publications, which I am reading again with some satisfaction and with the inclusion of some corrections. In the editing of this text, or rather its re-editing from a number of fresh sources, I had the advantage of the counsel and vastly superior knowledge of Dr. Hort. If his name does not appear on the pages, it was due to his characteristic self-effacement in the work which he did for his colleagues and disciples. For instance, when I was trying to find out why, in the story of Abimelech, the good man had been sent to the *market of the Gentiles*, according to one of my principal MSS., I consulted Dr. Hort as to the meaning of the term, which was too striking to be other than original. He asked me what was my best MS., and what did my best MS. say ? Then a characteristic advice, 'always stick to your best MS.' Nothing further at the time, but next morning there lay on the breakfast-table a closely-written post-card with references for the fair that was set up, when the last Jewish revolt was over, at the Oak of Abraham. In that identification which I promptly worked out, I was certainly a jay in peacock's feathers.

When the book appeared, it was received rather coldly by a certain school of critics, because I had found the date of the document, and involved in that discovery a quotation from the Gospel of John, the earliest known quotation. This would hardly provoke resentment at the present day, when it has ceased to be the fashion to talk of the Fourth Gospel as the product of the latter half of the second century. Critics are not so positive on that point as they were in Dr. Samuel Davidson's day ; in other words, they allow other people to know better.

In the working out of the theme of the long sleep of Abimelech or Ebedmelech, I fell into a curious error. Reading in Maracci the account of the Moslem appropriation of the story of the long sleep and the basket of figs, and not being sufficiently adroit in the *Qurān* and its commentators, I transcribed the Latin name of the Arabic sleeper in Maracci as *Alchedrum*, taking the Latin accusative as the proper name. Only two letters in excess, but those two letters brought me a prompt correction from my friend Robertson Smith, who was always ready to help me, and a thousandfold better Orientalist than I, in which he advised me that I had stumbled over the romantic sleeping figure of the *Qurān al Khidr*. A similar correction reached me from Rabbi Köhler of New York, along with some Talmudic parallels, followed by the flattering request (to which I was not disposed to accede) that I would edit the article on Apocrypha in the Jewish Encyclopedia. Dr. Robertson Smith's letter was so interesting, and so like himself, that I am going to subjoin it to my story.

CAMBRIDGE,  
17th October, 1890.

MY DEAR HARRIS,

In your Baruch, p. 41, your *Alchedrum* whom you have from Maracci is of course *Al-Khaḍir* or *Al-Khidr*, a very obscure personage, who is sometimes regarded as the Moslem St. George. That some doctors suppose him to be the person alluded to in Sura ii., 261 Maracci has (no doubt) from Baiḍāwī's note on the passage. I think you must be right in supposing that Sura ii., 261 contains an allusion to the story of Abimelech; but did the commentators, who say that *Al-Khaḍir*, is the person referred to, say this at a guess, or had they some knowledge of their own about the Christian legend?

I have to remark first of all that the identification of *Al-Khaḍir* with the man who slept for 100 years might be suggested by the legend (Tabari i., 412) that *Al-Khaḍir*, a companion of Alexander, drank of the water of life (which has a prominent place in the Alexander Romance) and is still alive. Nevertheless it is notable that Tabari also connects him with Abraham and with the dispute about the possession of the well of Beersheba. Abraham is said to have brought this dispute to Alexander (Dhu 'l-Karnain is Alexander, tho' Tabari mentions that some take him to be a different person) and the well was adjudged to *Al-Khaḍir*. This looks as if *Al-Kh.* were mixed up with Abimelech, king of Gerar. That your Abimelech

and the Philistine king should be mixed up will surprise no one who knows the Arab way of using Biblical stories. That great liar the Jew Wahb b. Monabbih identified Al-Khaḍir with Jeremiah. This too might be a mere guess—the city being Jerusalem—or it may indicate some confused acquaintance with your story. Finally Al-Khaḍir is commonly taken to be son of Malkān. The patronymic Ibn-Malkān does suggest Abimelech. Of these points the only one that seems to me important is the association with Beersheba. That goes far to prove that the expositors of the Kūrān knew your story and connected it with Sura ii., 261.

Yours ever,  
(Signed) W. R. SMITH.

Rabbi Köhler, to whom I alluded above, was as quick as Dr. Robertson Smith to correct my slip over the Moslem sleeper; but he also sent me a mass of Talmudic references, which were marked by the usual Hebrew diversity in dealing with a supposed historical event with a possible chronology. He regarded the *Last Words* as an original Hebrew book from an Essene writer, and that the victim of popular anger who was stoned in Jerusalem was not Jeremiah, but an Essene hero named Onias, of whom the Talmud tells in *Taanith*, chapter 3. He also pointed out to me that there was Rabbinical tradition for actually identifying Ebedmelech and Baruch (see *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 53), and that Ebedmelech was actually made (as in our new Apocryphon) into the *servant of King Zedekiah* the Distinguished One. Neither the Rabbi nor myself was able to explain the series of anachronisms in the Talmudic treatment of what was evidently a favourite subject; and as to the existence of a Hebrew original for all these various forms of legend, I am content to leave the matter in the hands of those who are better skilled in detecting Hebrew originals than myself.

As it is nearly forty years since the *Rest of the Words of Baruch* appeared, and I have hardly looked at it since, it has been possible for me to regard it dispassionately, and to say that it really was not a bad book, and might have had a more favourable reception. There is still a good deal to be learned from its pages by the student of Apocrypha. Returning now to the relation between the *Last Words* and the new Baruch, the priority of the *Last Words* which turned out not to be the Last Words, will be evident. One of the most striking variations is in the geography of the writer. I was able to show that the *Last Words*, like its predecessor the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch*, was a Jerusalem book, in which one could see

Hebron rise to the south of Jerusalem, and pass on the way thither the gardens of Agrippa, which could be reached either by the main road to Hebron or by the mountain road to Solomon's pools. The modern tourist in Palestine would recognise the provenance of the writer at once. But it was this very exactness of locality which perplexed the later Apocalyptic. He wanted figs, but saw no reason why the gardens of Agrippa should supply them; and as for the mountain road, it might just as well have been the Milky Way. He drops all these identifications, including the *Fair at the Terebinth* where the Jews were sold cheap, as slaves, after the Hadrianic war—in fact he had no geography and wanted none. All that his story needed was a cave for the sleeper and a basket of fruit. The other details have evidently been excised. The hand is not a Jerusalem hand as in the case of the earlier documents.

In passing, we ought, perhaps, to add to what we said previously about the acquaintance of our writer with Christian Gospels. We spoke of Matthew and Luke, but ought not Mark to be also on the horizon? For when we read that the old man argues with Abimelech over his figs and says that this is the month Nisan and Nisan (April) is not the season for figs, we are reminded that the very same expression is used in Mark, when Jesus, on His way from Bethany to Jerusalem, essayed to satisfy His hunger from a certain fig-tree. If, however, this is a Marcan trait, it is also found in the *Last Words*, and must not be set down as a first-hand quotation. Just as the writer obscures the geographical solution, he also destroys the chronology. Seventy years of captivity was classical, but sixty-six was meaningless. Here again the superiority and priority of the *Last Words* was evident. The later MSS. of the *Last Words* fell into the same natural error.

We must now say a few words on the question of the existence or extent of Jewish influences in our new document. A similar enquiry was raised in regard to the *Last Words of Baruch* which was asserted, in certain quarters, to be a bona-fide Jewish document, in spite of the fact that it was obviously coloured by the Christian Gospels. In our new text we have also passages which look like evangelical reflections, but at the same time there are other passages which require the Talmud, or at least the folk-lore traditions embedded in the Talmud, for their elucidation. The most interesting case is that



in which the wife of Nebuchadnezzar makes a personal appeal to him not to engage in hostile movements against the Jews. She bursts into tears when she is informed of her husband's designs. 'What king is there,' says she, 'that engaged in warfare with this people, and was saved? Dost thou not know that this is the people of God, and that everything that they ask from God they obtain it forthwith?' The queen's name is Hilkiah, which, whether masculine or feminine, has a Hebrew cast, and suggests that the lady may have been a captive or a pervert.

Now if we turn to the Talmud, *Taanith*, xxiv. 2, we find a similar story told of the mother of the Persian king Shapor II. : we notice that here it is the mother and not the wife that makes the appeal :

"Iphra Hormiz, the mother of King Shapor, said to her son, 'Have nothing to do with those Jews, for whatever they ask from their Lord, he gives it to them.' He says to her, 'How so?' She replied, 'They asked for mercy and the rain came.' He said to her, 'It was because of the time of the year that the rain came. But let them ask for rain now, in the time of the summer solstice, and let the rain come.' Whereupon she sent a messenger to Rabbah and said, 'Have a care of yourself ; implore mercy and rain will come.'"

This lady, whose name, as we have seen, was Iphra Hormiz, is frequently referred to in the Talmud, so that it has been suspected that she was a Jewish proselyte.

Evidently we have stumbled, in our new Apocalypse, upon the same story that occurs in the Talmud. We must not, however, conclude that there has been direct Jewish influence on our Apocalypse, for the tradition of Iphra Hormiz and her Jewish sympathies was well-known in the East Syrian Church.

Nor can we altogether ignore the similarity that there is between the tradition that we are discussing and the story in the Gospel of Matthew of Pilate's wife and her dream. Just as the queen-mother of Persia is *awakened from her sleep* in order to interfere with her husband's anti-Jewish projects, we have the wife of Pilate sending to say that she has suffered much for Jesus *in a dream* ; and just as the mother of King Shapor appeals to him to have *nothing to do against those good people* the Jews, so we have Pilate's wife appealing

against his doing *anything unfriendly to the good man* whom he has before him for judgment. Is it possible that she also may have had secret sympathies with the Jews or with Jesus, or an actual acquaintance with Him?

As to Jewish influence generally, it is in the highest degree improbable that such grotesque views of Cyrus and Nebuchadnezzar as are presented in our tract can have come from a Jewish source.

## II.

### A NEW LIFE OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

The reason for the existence of a multitude of Apocryphal writings is in the main twofold. There will be in the first instance the class of works in which the Apocryphal writer is dominated by an Apocryphal situation, some concurrence of misfortunes which threaten his nation, or some dreaded recurrence of misfortunes which have left their mark upon past history; the exigency of the time makes the man, who is peculiarly a child of the time, to become a literary artist of the time. He will write, or paint (the two words being primitively equivalent) in lurid colours when he describes the miseries of his people, he will have Gehenna itself for his palette when he lays on the flaming patches of the Divine Judgments. Nor will he always be a mean artist, even if using popular dialect or writing in a half cipher ('he that readeth, let him understand') for along with the moving tale of disasters in the sun and perplexities on the earth, there will rise in his imagination the story of storms succeeded by calm, and a lovelier city to replace the one that was devastated and wasted.

The second class of Apocrypha is due, not to any peculiar strain in the environment of the writer, but to a desire to fill up a deficit in literature, and to complete a story that has been imperfectly told, or perhaps not told at all. Every history, whether personal, local or national, has lacunæ in it; if we are interested sufficiently in place, person or people, we shall want to know or we shall pretend to know how those empty spaces may be filled. The pretence to know is of the very essence of a whole line of Apocryphal works.

For instance, the Gospel knows nothing or next to nothing of areas in our Lord's life, where we would like to know much. It is our modern spirit, I suppose, that makes us discontented with such informa-

tion as might be gathered from a Family Bible or a genealogical tree : but those of us who have family Bibles of any age, or ancestral records, are well aware that these too are subject to Apocryphal insertions ; and even in the scriptures we suspect that genealogies could be produced because they were wanted, as occurs even to-day in Arab circles. ' Abraham begat Isaac ' may be historical, at least we hope so, and make it almost creedal ; but the fact that Aminadab begat Aram does not provoke belief so readily. It all turns on the point whether master Aminadab and his progeny were produced because the historian wanted them. Now the Biblical story may have supplied these genealogical matters, because the self-respect of a family required them ; and in that case they are Apocrypha ; but even if that were the case, the modern spirit of history would not be satisfied with them, even if they were flaunted in our face in the forefront of the Gospels. We are sensible of a wider area of lacunæ than the person who hunts or imagines family registers.

Now we are not able to tell at what point the hungry student of the life of Christ began asking for more history or for earlier history. Such hungry sheep might look up to St. Mark and certainly not be fed. They would get something from St. Matthew and a little more from St. Luke ; might we, for instance, say that St. Luke's account of our Lord's visit at twelve years of age to the Temple was a historian's instinctive intrusion into an uncharted area ? It may be so, and will stand, in that case, to St. Luke's credit, which credit already stands high. But in that case, why did he leave that great Terra Incognita on his map between the life-parallels of twelve and thirty ? If he was as interested in a child who could puzzle the doctors with questions and surprise them with quick answers, why has he no interest in the growing boy upon whom the shades of the prison house were beginning to close ?

It is in such lacunæ that the Apocryphist of our second species finds his opportunity. We cannot, however, fail to be surprised that, with such a canvas lying idle, no artist had seized it for some three centuries after it had been exposed. The *Gospels of the Infancy*, and the *Gospel of the Boyhood* are lacuna-Gospels. So are the stories which tell of the *Birth*, *Death* and *Rapture of the Virgin*, whose attractiveness secures them, even at the present day, a place of recognition in the Christian Calendar, from which they can be detached

with difficulty. From Jesus and His mother the enquiring spirit naturally passes over to ask for further information as to His great Forerunner, John the Baptist. The existing history is only vocal about John where the two lives of John and Jesus overlap, or where one personality (either of them will do) bears testimony to the righteousness of the authority of the other. And even here it is the Birth-story and the Mournful Death that take most of the space. Who would not rejoice, if a papyrus should turn up, to do for John the Baptist what Mark did for Jesus? So, without raising our hopes too high, we turn to a recently found *Life of John the Baptist* in an Arabic MS. to see if we can gather anything further with regard to the Baptist, beyond what can be picked up, in the shape of fragments, from the Gospel itself.

We premise that there are numerous indications in Christian literature of the desire to fill in what might seem to be deficiencies in the known story of St. John. One of the most interesting was caused by the request of our Lord's disciples that He would teach them to pray as John also taught his disciples. It was natural to ask what was the form of prayer which was displaced by the *Oratio Dominica*. The answer was supplied by some early Christian and is even now extant in a Syriac form. It runs as follows in the MS. Add. 12, 138 of the British Museum :

The Prayer which John taught his disciples : " Father, show me thy Son ; Son, show me thy Spirit ; Holy Spirit, make me wise in thy truth."

But some say it was like this :

" Holy Father, sanctify me by thy truth, and make me to know the glory of thy greatness, and show me thy Son, and fill me with thy Spirit, that I may be illuminated with thy knowledge."

The next increment to our supposed knowledge is called for by our sense that Divine Justice had not been satisfied, if Herodias and her daughter were allowed to go scot free. The student of English literature will find this very proper sentiment expressed in verse in a poem of Vaughan the Silurite on the theme of *The Daughter of Herodias*. Here is a verse from this poem, with an explanatory footnote, such as would be required by the ignorance of the reader :

Leave then, young Sorceress ; the *Ice*  
Will those coy spirits cast asleep,  
Which teach thee now to please his eyes  
Who doth thy lothsome mother keep.

The note runs as follows : Her name was Salome : in passing over a frozen river, the ice broke under her, and chopt off her head.

It may be asked where Vaughan in the seventeenth century found this Apocryphal addition to the New Testament record. It is certainly found in the East as well as the West, for we have something of the kind in the commentaries of Bar Ṣalibi. The first form of the legend is more difficult to determine. We shall find one form in the document before us. All that we say at present is that the Apocryphal story was the outcome of a sense that Justice had not been satisfied.

But now let us come to our Life of St. John, where we shall find a curious mixture of history and legend ; in the first place the author has worked over the Biblical account in a very accurate manner ; next, we shall see that he has blended with it an amount of Apocryphal detail, sufficient to justify us in classifying the writing itself as Apocryphal ; and last of all, when he comes to discourse of the final disposal of St. John's relics, he reverts from legend to history, and gives us the means of identifying himself as a real person, of high standing in the church at Alexandria. He tells us that his name was Serapion, and that he had been ordained to one of the Egyptian episcopal centres by Timothy who was Patriarch of Alexandria from A.D. 380 to 385. The Egyptian origin of our translation (at least of one of the forms in which our Arabic text has come down to us) is betrayed by the occurrence of the name of a Coptic month in the narration. Serapion tells us, in fact, that at a somewhat earlier date the faithful brought the bones of the Baptist to Alexandria, where a church was built to receive them, and a magnificent celebration was held on the second day of the month *Baouna*. The document, then, is by provenance Egyptian, and it is historical and can be dated at the close of the fourth century. The miracles wrought at the tomb of the saint are also historical, so far as miracles can be, which are evidently made to order, to enhance the dignity of the newly enshrined. We must not be surprised if here also, as in so many other cases of discovery and location of bones of saints, the fervour with which the



miracle-loving people believed and the benevolent saint operated, soon subsided into a normal good feeling without supernatural attestations. No need to give instances of this general statement ; they might be compromising to great names in the church. In the matter of belief, *non omnes possumus omnia*.

Now let us return to the story of the Baptist's birth ; it follows closely the scriptural account, but with explanatory additions, mostly of an Apocryphal character. We can easily see the genesis of these. Our document is, in fact, a homily to be read at the festival of the saint. The writer says so :

"The body of the holy John the Baptist, the saint whose feast we are celebrating to-day, remained in Sebaste—which is Nablus of Samaria—for four hundred years."

What more natural, then, than that Serapion, as preacher for the day, should have added to his narrative such current stories as might make the lessons for the day more interesting. It is a practice which still prevails. One may say of it, what Mistress Quickly says, in apology for the presence of a joint of mutton in her Tavern in the holy season of Lent, "all vintners do it." Coming, then, to those points in the Baptist's *Infancy Gospel* where the people would have liked to ask questions, and perhaps did ask them, one would like to know whether the good man really did eat locusts, and whether his sanctity has a shadow cast over it from his diet. And further, how was it possible for a child of tender years to live in the desert all the years which intervened between his leaving his home, and his return as a prophet to Israel? It is well known that the difficulty over St. John and his carnivorous diet is chronic in the East : as early as the time of Tatian and the Eucratites the biblical text was subject to correction by the substitution of a diet of milk and honey for the offensive locusts. Even before Tatian's day, in Greek-speaking circles in Palestine, the locusts (*ἀκρίδες*) had been replaced by pancakes (*ἐγκρίδες*). Those who held to the milk and honey diet for the youthful saint, had to employ their imagination in a further direction, in order to explain how the necessary and constant milk supply was to be obtained in the desert. They settled it by sending St. Elizabeth into the desert with her son. Bar Ṣalibi tells us that this maternal function was discharged for a period of fifteen years, at the close of which time we may assume that Elizabeth died. Now

that our writer knows something of this tradition is clear—(i) from the fact that Elizabeth actually takes her son into the desert ; (ii) that he reduces the abnormal lactation to three years, which is not unusual in the East ; (iii) he has a special death in the desert for Elizabeth, over which he dilates as Browning might have done if he had known the story and been enamoured of the theme. For other and similar explanations of St. John and his locusts, the reader may refer to my book, *Ephrem and the Gospel*, pp. 17-19.

The Apocryphal expansions for which we have found the motive deserve a closer attention. Our writer oscillates between a carnivorous and a vegetable diet. First he will have the locusts, and then again he disowns them. We are told that 'the blessed John wandered in the desert with his mother, and *God prepared for him locusts and wild honey as food*. But after the death of his mother, when John was only seven years and six months old, the writer says that 'John lived in great asceticism and devotion. *His only food was grass and wild honey*.' Here is another solution of the problem how to keep St. John a vegetarian !

The next problem for the thoughtful mind was the question of the burial of the sainted mother by her seven-year-old child. The situation demanded celestial assistance, a theophany, an angelophany, as well as the aid which women render at such times to the departed. Our Lord appears on a cloud, accompanied by His mother and Salome, and with attendant angels and archangels. This cloud-flying motive was familiar to the Apocryphal mind. Not only had they Christ's promise that the Son of Man should be seen on the clouds of heaven, but the descent into Egypt had been explained by the language of the prophet that the Lord should mount on a white cloud and come into Egypt, where some said the white cloud was Mary. So there was no difficulty ; *adest Deus, adest Machina*. Jesus, at the age of seven years, orders the obsequies and makes appropriate predictions.

Really the desert which our writer describes was not a very formidable or distant affair. He combines it with the location of Ain Karim near Jerusalem, which could be reached in a very short space of time without an aeroplane ! The New Testament student will notice that our text interprets *εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα* in Luke i. 39, as being a town called Judah, for which the authorities may be consulted on one side or the other. Coming now to the somewhat diffusely

treated subject of the relations between the Baptist and the Herodian circle, we find ourselves in a folk-lore atmosphere with an independent development. It is commonly supposed that Herodias, when she had received the head of the Baptist, opened the mouth and pierced with her bodkin the reproving tongue. In our tale she proposes to cut out the tongue, place the eyes in a dish, and use his long hair to stuff her bolster. These incidents, threatened but not occurring, came back as curses are wont to do in biblical and semi-biblical tales, and attached themselves to the fortune of Herodias, whose house came down about her ears, and whose eyes left their sockets. Then the writer shows the motive of his tale. It was the head of the Baptist that had been insulted, and was now being avenged. And it was the head whose fate as a sacred relic he now proposed to tell : for he perhaps had it near him when he was preaching ; the people knew it was on hand ; it may even have been on exhibition for the day, as often happens on the great days of great saints.

Now the history of relics is the most difficult part of the science of hagiology. On one side it is a history of ecclesiastical lying, a long series of volumes running parallel to the history of the church itself. On the other side it is not to be denied that martyrs and holy men had bones, and that these bones have a permanence to which the body itself lays no claim, and which lends themselves to pious remembrance. Why should not some of them be genuine ? One reason, of course, is the tendency of the relic to multiply, to become ubiquitous. John the Baptist's head is a case in point. Our writer says it was preserved at Sebaste, which he wrongly identified with Nablus. It is still said to be there. But then it was also preserved in the great Mosque at Damascus, and again in the town of Homs (Emesa). Our writer says it was preserved for 400 years at Sebaste, and lay there in peace till the time of Julian the Apostate. Then in a time of the imperial rage against the Christians, the churches were desecrated, and men found in the church at Sebaste two coffins ; from the contents, which included shirts of camel's hair, it was inferred that these were the coffins of the Baptist and of Elisha, the one having been, by the design of providence for putting things side by side that belonged together, laid in adjacent tombs. So they gathered up the relics and secretly sent them to Alexandria. It does not positively say that the head was there. In fact it was a very elusive head, and had

been flying over the city of Jerusalem for many years and crying out its condemnation of King Herod and his lawless marriage. From which we may infer, if we please, that no one knows what really became of it. There are always various solutions for the history of a relic ; but this does not mean that all relics are unhistorical : it would be more correct to say, with a suitable motion of the eyelid, that all of them cannot be historical ; say, for example, all the eight-day clocks which are said to have come over in the *Mayflower*. But now we are spoiling our story by modern illustrations. It is historical to say that some relics supposed to be of the Baptist, were deposited by Bishop Serapion in the church consecrated to his memory in Alexandria at the end of the fourth century.

### III.

#### *Uncanonical Psalms.*

The next contribution to the unedited Syriac literature consists of a group of Psalms, of no special intrinsic value, but not without interest if they illustrate to us the wide extent of the early hymnology, whether that of the Hebrew community as contained in the conventional Psalter and assigned to King David or imitated in the early Christian Church under the authorship of King Solomon and the title of his Odes. There is a literary bridge between the two collections in those Psalms of the Pharisees which were written a few years before the coming of our Lord, and are also dignified with a Solomonic authorship.

The most elementary criticism of the Psalter as the term is commonly used will show that it is an edited volume, made to order, and limited in its content to 150 songs. Even a child of the present age can see, what the prophets and kings of previous critical ages failed to apprehend, that it cannot be all of it Davidic in origin, and that perhaps none of it is his. It belongs to different ages, and is probably made up, like a modern hymn-book, out of previous handbooks of song, covering a period that reached nearly to the Christian era. The mere fact of its numerical limitation is sufficient to show that it is miscellaneous in character, and contains, in consequence, like all hymn-books, many things which ought to have been left out, and by inference that it has left out a good many things that ought to have been put in.



That simple statement sets the watchman in Oriental lore on the lookout for appendices to the Psalter, and for a more varied authorship than that of David. Indeed, as is well known, the Psalter does not profess to be wholly Davidic, even if it be heavily Davidized. There are other suggestions of individual singers and groups of singers which can hardly be neglected. Perhaps it was that learned group of translators and higher critics, whom we call by the name of the Septuagint, who first speculated on the situation which provoked the Hebrew Psalms, and searched the story of David, in order to make him sing the right thing at the right time. There were musical critics, too, as we can see from the head-lines in Moffatt's translation, to tell us what kind of instruments and what range of voices were proper for any special chant. Good fellows, no doubt, who did not object to using a hymn-book ascribed to the sons of Korah, because Korah had disappeared, so they said, in a theologically accentuated earthquake. But these modifications as to authorship and musical treatment left the popular opinion unchanged ; David wrote them, the words expressed his thought and the tunes answered to his harp.

As a Greek MS. expresses it, which I once saw in Jerusalem :

“David sat on the tower which is named after him in Jerusalem, and elegantly composed his Psalms.”

A burdensome belief ! but then the Psalter itself is a burdensome legacy, from which both the Christian Church and individual believers have suffered much, and from whose dominance the Christian Church is slowly beginning to shake itself loose. The observation which we made as to the over-Davidized head-lines, shows that premature criticism leads to theological disaster ; take, for instance, the 110th Psalm, to whose Davidic authorship Jesus found himself committed, which becomes the basis for the Session at the Right Hand of the Father, and the priesthood after the order of Melchizedek !

Our reason for referring to these matters lies in the little collection which is here published : the first Psalm in the group is not new : it is sometimes printed as an Appendix to the Psalter, and is known as the 151st. The reason for it is obvious. Among all the odd situations for Davidic psalmody which the earlier collectors imagined and which the Septuagint has conserved, there was nothing in the form of a triumphal ode over Goliath. There was a song written when the Ziphites told Saul that David was in hiding among them, another when



Joab had defeated 12,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt, while the lovely 34th Psalm is said to be the work of David when he escaped arrest by pretending to be mad ; but no word about Goliath ! The Sunday schools of that day must have resented the omission ! Apparently it was a Greek hand that rectified it and put it as an Appendix to the completed collection. Not that it is ever going to be said or sung. It isn't deep enough for that. Its main purpose is to rectify an omission, which it does awkwardly enough. We do not think it has a Hebrew original ; probably it passed from Greek into Syriac, as we have it before us. In the West it does not seem to have had much acceptance, but it may interest some persons of antiquarian taste to know that, in the last century, it was rendered into Lowland Scottish by Dr. Hately Waddell.

## PREFACES, TEXTS, AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY A. MINGANA.

(i) *A New Jeremiah Apocryphon.*

### PREFATORY NOTE.

IN the following pages I give the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of a rather strange work purporting to contain the history of the events that preceded and followed the deportation of the Jews to Babylon. I have followed in my edition two manuscripts: Paris 65<sup>1</sup> and Mingana Syr. 240, in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, designated hereafter by the letters P. and M. respectively. P. is dated 1905 of the Greeks (A.D. 1594), and M. has lost its colophon, but on palæographical grounds may be ascribed to about A.D. 1650. The former was written at Hamāt, and the latter was recently acquired by me in Kurdistan. No attention has been paid to Paris 238,<sup>2</sup> 273,<sup>3</sup> and 276,<sup>4</sup> because all the above MSS. seem to contain only two different recensions of the story, and Paris 65 and Mingana Syr. 240 offer the best specimen of each recension.

From footnotes found in the following pages the reader will conclude that I believe that P. which is now in Garshūni was transcribed from a MS. written in Arabic characters and executed in Egypt. The same, however, could not be said of M. This fact induces us to suppose that the two recensions of the story referred to above may provisionally be divided into an Egyptian recension and a Syrian, Palestinian, or Mesopotamian recension. The discrepancies and verbal differences which characterise the two recensions are profound and unmistakeable.

<sup>1</sup> P. 32 in Zotenberg's catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> P. 191 in Zotenberg's catalogue. (The MS. is dated 1785 of the Greeks (A.D. 1474).)

<sup>3</sup> P. 212 in Zotenberg's catalogue. (The MS. is of the sixteenth century.)

<sup>4</sup> P. 214 in Zotenberg's catalogue. (The MS. is of the seventeenth century.)

I first tried to establish from all the above MSS. a good text for the body of the story and relegate the numerous variants to the footnotes, but in the course of my transcription I discovered that the plan was impracticable, and I was driven to the conclusion that the best method to give an adequate idea of each recension would be to edit separately all the text of its best specimen, and this is the reason why the reader finds for his guidance in the present work a complete set of facsimiles of all P. and of all M. The same difficulty presented itself to me in the translation. To note all the variants of each recension seemed to me to be cumbersome and useless, so I confined myself to refer in short notes only to the most important variants exhibited by the two MSS. In a few cases the translation represents a combination of both P. and M. and the purely verbal discrepancies and still more the orthographical variants have been completely ignored.

The Arabic used in the story is grammatically and lexicographically more correct than that used in the "Exhortation to Priesthood" which I edited and translated in the first fasciculus of *Woodbrooke Studies*, but it is still much below the standard of what a good piece of classic Arabic should be.<sup>1</sup> If it comes to be established that the Arabic text is a translation from a foreign language, I might be tempted to assert that the story was originally written in Greek, from which it was translated into Syriac, and that the Syriac gave rise to the recension represented by M. As to the recension represented by P. it was possibly translated either direct from Greek or more probably from a Coptic intermediary, before it came under the influence of the Syrian Copyists.

The story itself appears to me to emanate from a man who lived either in Egypt or in Western (not Eastern) Palestine.

#### TRANSLATION.

We will write concerning<sup>2</sup> the deportation of the Children of Israel to Babylon at the hand of the King Nebuchadnezzar in the days of the prophet Jeremiah.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only the most important mistakes have been corrected in the footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> P. : "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God, we will begin by the assistance of God and His help to narrate the history of . . ."

<sup>3</sup> P. adds : "May his prayer protect us and you. Amen."

And the word of God came to the prophet Jeremiah saying :<sup>1</sup> " Say to the King Zedekiah and to the people of the Children of Israel, ' Why do you add sins to your sins,<sup>2</sup> and iniquity to your iniquity. My eye has seen your deeds, and my ear has heard your sayings. If you had fasted, I would have been merciful to you ; and if you had prayed, I would have listened to you, says the Lord Omnipotent. You have not fasted to me, nor have you stretched your hands towards me, but you have fasted to Baal and prayed to Zeus, and you have forgotten the Lord God of Abraham and said, ' Who is the God of Israel ? ' You have been unmindful of all my goodness to you when I took you out of the land of Egypt, delivered you from the servitude of Pharaoh,<sup>3</sup> and smote the inhabitants of Egypt with plagues. I cared for you like a tender mother<sup>4</sup> cares for her<sup>5</sup> virgin daughters until she delivers them up to the bridegroom, in order that no harm may befall you in all your ways.

" I have glorified you above all nations, and have called you my people, O Children of Israel. I have brought you out of a wilderness full of scorpions and vipers, and made you dwell in the desert forty years while your dresses did not wear out, your shoes were not torn up, and the hair of your heads did not grow up, and in all that length of time your clothing did not show any dirt on it. I gave you the bread of angels from heaven, while a column of light shone upon you by night, and a cloud protected you by day. I guarded you with my right hand and my holy arm, and delivered you from the hands of your enemies and made you possess that for which you had not toiled. I took you out of the depth of the sea, and you beheld your enemies behind you standing by the sea like statues. I sent down angels from heaven to assist you in crossing the middle of the sea, and drowned the chariots of Pharaoh in its depth<sup>6</sup> with promptitude. I ordered the abysses to cover them, and made you enter a land for which you had not toiled, a land that flows with milk and honey, and put your fear in the hearts (of your enemies).

" After all these things which I did for you, you have forgotten my name and said, ' There is no God but Baal and Zeus.' You

<sup>1</sup> Note the Biblical parallelism of the following lines.

<sup>2</sup> Read : *tazidūna* in M. and *dhunūban* in P.

<sup>3</sup> P. omits the proper name.

<sup>4</sup> P. omits " mother."

<sup>5</sup> P. " her sons and her . . . "

<sup>6</sup> See Exodus, XV, 1 *sqq.*

have returned to me evil for good, forsaken me, offered sacrifices to Baal, and immolated your sons and daughters to Zeus. You have turned away from me, all of you, old and young, and have committed injustices against one another. The seed of adultery has appeared in your midst, and there is no just judge among you. If you persist in these deeds, says the Lord, I will inflict calamities on you and cause my wrath to flow like a flowing river which does not turn back. Your young men will die smitten with the sword, and your old men of hunger and thirst; your children will be deported while you look at them, and your great city will be destroyed. Your land shall become a deserted waste, because I lost patience with you, says the Lord Omnipotent. I bore with you so that perchance you may repent and return to me, and I return to you. But now I have turned my face away from you.<sup>1</sup>

"While you were doing my will and were calling me, 'O Lord, O Lord,' I was listening to you with promptitude; but now were you to cry to me I would not answer you and say, 'Here I am,' nor would I send down to you dew in time and rain in season. In the days when you were obedient to me, all the nations were trembling before you. Each one of you used to chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight,<sup>2</sup> and my angels preceded you anywhere you halted. But when you offended me, all the earth turned against you; and the sun and the moon mourned<sup>3</sup> over you because they beheld your prevarication, your worship of idols, and all the iniquity which is within you, and which you perpetrated before the idol of Zeus.<sup>4</sup> You kindled my wrath and did not return to me, says the Lord Omnipotent, God of Israel."

The prophet Jeremiah rose up then and went to King Zedekiah. He saw him sitting in the Sun-Gate,<sup>5</sup> and with him was a company of false prophets, who were prophesying falsely to him. When King Zedekiah saw the prophet Jeremiah, he stood up before him and received him and said to him: "O seer, hast thou the word of God in thy mouth<sup>6</sup> in these days?" And Jeremiah the prophet said to him: "Here is the word;" and he narrated to him the word of

<sup>1</sup> About a third of a page is here torn in M.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxii. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. *akhri*.

<sup>4</sup> P. omits the sentence which deals with Zeus.

<sup>5</sup> A proper name of a gate dedicated to the deity *Shemesh* "sun."

<sup>6</sup> P. omits "mouth."



God before all the people. When the king heard the words of the prophet Jeremiah he waxed very angry, and asked the people and the false prophets who were round him whether that young man was mad.<sup>1</sup> And Hananiah,<sup>2</sup> the liar, rose up, put on his head horns of iron,<sup>3</sup> and began to speak and say, 'This is what the Lord God says: "Thou, O king, shalt triumph over thy enemies and over these"—and he made a sign to north, south, east, and west—and proceeded thus: "No one will be able to contradict thee, O king, nor dwell in the land." And there was then no word of God in the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah.

When the king heard these words from Hananiah, the liar and the deceiver, in the presence of all the false prophets his companions, he said to those of his servants that were present: "Take this Jeremiah and cast him into the dungeon, in the lowest pit, which is full of mire,<sup>4</sup> in order that he may die; no other food should be given to him apart from a little bread and water in order that we may know whether the word of God is with him or not." Then they threw forthwith Jeremiah in the place which the king had designated.

When Abimelech,<sup>5</sup> a servant in constant attendance on the king, heard that King Zedekiah had thrown Jeremiah into prison, he rose up and inquired after the place where King Zedekiah was staying, and went to him. When the king saw the servant approaching him, he said to him: "Be welcome, O faithful servant; thou hast come to-day to us; what is thy request?" And the servant said to him: "O king what has the prophet Jeremiah done, that you should have acted with him in this way? Do you not fear God, O king, in casting the prophet of the Lord into prison and in extinguishing the lamp of Israel which shone on the people of God?" Then King Zedekiah said to him: "Thou hast done well in reminding me to-day of him, O Ephti,<sup>6</sup> take some men with thee, and go and take him out of prison."

<sup>1</sup> Or: possessed by evil spirits.

<sup>2</sup> P.: Hanina. See Jer. xxviii. 1-17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 Kings xxii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> See Jer. xxxviii. 6.

<sup>5</sup> P.: *Ephtimelech* throughout. He is evidently the same personage as the one called Ebedmelech (Jer. xxxviii. 7), an Ethiopian eunuch in the king's house. The name given in P. seems to be of Coptic origin and emanates from a MS. the archetype of which was written in Egypt.

<sup>6</sup> The first half of the name of *Ephtimelech*, the reading of P. M. does not mention any name in this sentence.

Then Abimelech took with him men, old rags, and strong ropes,<sup>1</sup> and repaired to the prison in which Jeremiah was lying; he threw to him the old rags, and let down to him the strong ropes and said: "Attach these to your armholes so that we may draw you up." He did as he was told, and they drew him out of prison and gave him his freedom.

Then the Lord said to the prophet Jeremiah: "O you whom I have elected and honoured, arise and go for the second time to Zedekiah and say to him, 'Thus says the Lord God of Israel, "How long will you irritate my spirit, shed innocent blood, cause pregnant women to miscarry, and take the fruit of their wombs and burn it with fire before the statue of Baal. The blood of those whom you have unjustly killed cried towards the throne of my glory, and the cry of the unjustly treated went up to the gates of heaven. Why have you trodden in the path of Manasseh and forsaken the ways of David, your father? If you persist before me in these deeds, I will bring down my wrath and anger on you, and strip you of your glory; I will overthrow your throne and give your kingdom to your enemy who will put out your eyes and place them in your hands, and slay your two children and place one at your right hand and the other at your left; and put a chain round your neck like a dog. In this way you will be deported into Babylon, tied to the chariot of the king Nebuchadnezzar,<sup>2</sup> and you will die there while driving the mule that pulls the stone of the flour-mill.<sup>3</sup> This great people will also be led into captivity with you, and Jerusalem<sup>4</sup> will be destroyed to its foundations, because you have dishonoured my name by your worship of foreign gods and have broken my covenant which I made with your fathers.'" All these words utter you before the elders<sup>5</sup> of the children of Israel."

<sup>1</sup> See Jer. xxxviii. 11. P. reads *mawākīt* and M. *ḵawāmīt*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Kings xxv. 6-7; Jer. xxxix. 4-7.

<sup>3</sup> In early times (and occasionally also in the present day) the stone that ground the corn in a flour-mill was tied to a chain pulled by a horse or a mule.

<sup>4</sup> Curiously enough the name of Jerusalem is generally written in P. with a *yodh* at the beginning, in the Hebrew fashion, instead of an *Alaph*, in the Arabic and Syriac fashion. This also denotes a Coptic origin to the archetype from which P. emanates.

<sup>5</sup> M.: nobles, princes (as in the Bible).

The prophet Jeremiah then said : "No, my Lord and my God, Lord of mercy and creator of the universe ; no, O Lord, do not send me to King Zedekiah, because he is a man who hates Thy pious ones, and he will wax angry if I mention Thy name before him, and his anger will be brought to the highest pitch if I mention the name of Thy saints who have been slain and of Thy holy ones who have been stoned. He has further sought my destruction, and if I go back to him he will throw me in the pool of mire, in the lowest dungeon, and I shall die there." The Lord said then to the prophet Jeremiah : "Rise up and go to him. It is I who send you in my name, and be not afraid."

Then the prophet Jeremiah rose up and went to King Zedekiah and to the people of the children of Israel. He had an audience with the king, and he related to him all the words of God. King Zedekiah became exceedingly angry, and ordered the prophet Jeremiah to be thrown for the second time in the lowest cistern, the cistern of mire. When Abimelech heard of the imprisonment of the prophet Jeremiah, he went to King Zedekiah and saved him like the first time<sup>1</sup> and set him free.

Then the word of God came for the third time to the prophet Jeremiah saying : "O Jeremiah whom I have elected, arise and go to King Zedekiah and utter to him the words of the Lord, God of Israel." Then the prophet Jeremiah fell down before the Lord, lifted his hands to Him, worshipped before Him and said to Him : "No, my Lord, do not send me to King Zedekiah, because if I mention to him Thy holy name he will wax angry and kill me." Then the Lord ordered the prophet Jeremiah to write down in a book all that was revealed to him and deliver it to his disciple Baruch,<sup>2</sup> to bring to King Zedekiah. The prophet Jeremiah did what God ordered him to do, and he wrote a letter and sent it to King Zedekiah with his disciple Baruch and ordered him to read it before him and before the company of the children of Israel. And Baruch went to the palace

<sup>1</sup>P. adds : "and the second time." M. omits it.

<sup>2</sup>P. writes the name as *Yārūth* throughout with a *yā* (instead of a *bā*) at the beginning. This could have happened only in case the Paris MS. which is now written in Garshuni was emanating from an original which was written in Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic characters only that the letters *bā'* and *yā'* have graphically the same form and are only distinguished by a small dot which is generally omitted in old MSS.

of the king whom he saw sitting with his boon-companions. He stood before him with the letter in his hand, and uttered the words of God. When the king heard the speech of the disciple Baruch he became exceedingly angry, took the letter from him, and burned it with fire that he made there before all the children of Israel. He also ordered at once Baruch, the disciple of the prophet Jeremiah, to be flogged—and he was cruelly lashed<sup>1</sup>—and asked him where (his master) lived. The disciple told the king his master's whereabouts, and the king ordered that he should be brought before him bound with chains and fetters.

The servants went out to look for him and they found him in a sepulchral crypt braiding fresh twigs and leaves.<sup>2</sup> They seized him forthwith and did with him what the king had ordered them to do, and they presented him to King Zedekiah.<sup>3</sup> When he stood before the king, Satan filled the latter's heart and he began to gnash his teeth at him and said to him: "I will shed your blood and pour it in the plate from which I eat, I will deliver your flesh to the birds of heaven and your bones to the carnivores of the earth, for the written words that your disciple uttered before me. What is between me and you, O Jeremiah, that you should prophesy falsely<sup>4</sup> against me and against my kingdom and say, 'Your kingdom shall be taken from you and your throne shall be overthrown, and the people shall be deported and Jerusalem shall be destroyed to its foundations?' I swear to you by the great gods Baal and Zeus that I shall torment you with a grievous torment, and not finish you off quickly, but shall cast you into the lowest pit of the prison, and see whether your words will apply to me truly or not."

The king ordered him to be tied hands and feet with iron and thrown into the pit which the king had named; he further ordered that no bread and water should be given to him, in order that he may die of hunger and thirst. The prophet Jeremiah turned then towards the king and said to him before the people of the children of Israel: "May God judge between thee and me, O King Zedekiah; I have prophesied for many years on behalf of the Lord, and no lie has ever come out of my mouth,<sup>5</sup> and thou art throwing me for the third time

<sup>1</sup> P. omits.

<sup>2</sup> For basket making.

<sup>3</sup> M. omits the last two sentences.

<sup>4</sup> M. omits the adverb.

<sup>5</sup> Read *fīya* for *fāya* in P.

in prison, in the lowest pit, wishing me to die there. Thou hast confidence in the false prophets who prophesy to thee falsely. This being the case listen to the words of God which are in my mouth :<sup>1</sup>

"Thou hast angered me with thy iniquitous deeds,<sup>2</sup> and I shall turn my face away from thee and from the people of the children of Israel. I shall kindle my wrath and anger against this land, and the king of the Chaldeans shall come with men as numerous as locusts, and shall dismantle to its foundations the rampart<sup>3</sup> of the city of Jerusalem and fix his throne in its midst. And thou, O King Zedekiah, when thou seest these things with thy eyes, pangs of travail will take possession of thee like a woman who<sup>4</sup> gives birth to a child. Thou shalt extend on thy bed and cover thy face with thy mantle as with a shroud, and thy servants will carry thee on their necks like a corpse and run with thee towards the Jordan in order that they may cross it and save thee. God then will move the hearts of the servants of Nebuchadnezzar, who will seek thee in thy bed-chamber and not find thee, and they will follow thee and overtake thee on the river Karmli<sup>5</sup>; they will throw thee on the ground, uncover thy face, and strip thee of thy mantle, and present thee to Nebuchadnezzar, the king of the Chaldeans, and thou shalt see his eyes with thy eyes, and thy mouth shall speak with his mouth. He will put a chain round thy neck like a dog, bring thy two sons to thy presence, and slay one at thy right hand and the other at thy left. He will put out thy eyes and place them in thy hands, and carry thee with him to the countries of Babylon, tied to his chariot, with mud, mire<sup>6</sup> and ashes on thy head. Thou shalt eat bread, weeping and sighing, and shalt drink water with grief and hardship, and shalt die there while driving the mule that pulls the stone of the flour-mill."

When Jeremiah finished these words he was seized by the servants to do with him what King Zedekiah had ordered. And the prophet

<sup>1</sup> Read *jīya* for *jāya* in P.

<sup>2</sup> Change the first *yā* into a *rā*. The correct form should have been *ar-radiyah*. M. has the incorrect *al-ayādi*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *sūr* in M.

<sup>4</sup> Read *al-lati*.

<sup>5</sup> Written as "*Karlis*" in M. The word seems to be of Greek origin. It is somewhat strange that the Jordan should be referred to in the document by this uncommon word. Zedekiah was of course overtaken in the plain of Jericho.

<sup>6</sup> P. wrongly "mud."



Jeremiah said to the servants of Zedekiah : " Have a little patience with me until I finish the words of God which are in my mouth." And King Zedekiah said : " Leave him until he utters all that he has to say." While the prophet Jeremiah was left alone he turned to all the people standing before the king and said : " Listen to what the Lord Omnipotent says : ' I protected your fathers<sup>1</sup> when I took them out of the land of Egypt, but because you have forgotten the great goodness I did to your fathers in the desert, you shall be requited with a much greater evil. When I took your fathers out of the land of Egypt, and they dwelt forty years in the desert, their dresses did not wear out, their shoes were not torn up, and the hair of their heads did not grow. You, however, shall be deported and shall be in the way to your destination<sup>2</sup> only a month and your dresses shall wear out and become like old skins ; they shall tear up, and you shall sew them with cords made of palm-tree fibres, of alfa, and palm-tree leaves. The hair of your heads shall come down to your shoulders like the hair of women, and instead of the column of light which shone upon your fathers<sup>3</sup> day and night and went before them in their way, you shall be deported and walk in the heat of the sun and the cold of the night, and you shall experience the most intense heat of the summer and severe cold of the winter. I shall order the moon and the stars which<sup>4</sup> shine at night not to shed their light on you, in order that you may be in darkness. You shall crawl on your hands in groping your way, and shall stumble on one another with vehemence, intense pains, and bitter weeping.

" You shall hunger after bread, and thirst after water, and you shall sigh and say, ' Thou art just, O Lord, and Thou hast done everything with wisdom ; Thou hast acted towards us according to our merits.'<sup>5</sup> Instead of the manna and the quails which God sent to your fathers, and the sweet water which He caused to jet forth for them from the rock, there shall descend on you<sup>6</sup> from heaven, earth, dust, and a fiery wind that will cling to your bodies and inflict on them sores, wounds, and blisters that do not heal. I shall render your drinking water brackish and bitter in your mouths, in order to

<sup>1</sup> Read *abā'akum*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *taskunūn* in P., and put the particle *lam* before the verb.

<sup>3</sup> Read *abā'ikum* in P.

<sup>4</sup> Read *al-lati tudī'u*.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. as we acted.

<sup>6</sup> Read *'alaikum* in P.

desiccate your bodies and dry up your bones. Instead of the light of the sun that (God) caused to shine on your fathers, you shall have lice and vermin to consume your bodies. You shall remain seventy years in the captivity and servitude of the Chaldeans until the Lord turns His wrath away from you."

When the prophet Jeremiah finished all these words to King Zedekiah and to the elders and princes of the people who were surrounding him, they cried one and all, saying, 'Long live thou King Zedekiah.' The king then ordered the prophet to be cast into the dungeon, in the place where the cistern of mire was found. The description of this dungeon is that people walked three hours underground in the dark until they reached it; its sides were as thin as a glass bowl; no one was able to stand in that place, except on the joint of his knees; it was full of mire and pitch which reached the armpits<sup>1</sup> of a man. And the prophet Jeremiah remained in that place for several days in great pains.

When Abimelech, the servant<sup>2</sup> of the king heard the story of the prophet Jeremiah, he visited him every day, by giving a denarius to the gaoler in order to let him enter, and gave the prophet Jeremiah bread and water, and then returned to his master.<sup>3</sup> He did this for twenty-one days, after which he went to King Zedekiah and said to him: "I felt the necessity of presenting myself before you for the sake of the prophet Jeremiah. Was it not sufficient for you,<sup>4</sup> O king, to imprison the prophet of God a first time and a second time, that you should have thrown him a third time into prison? You have extinguished the lamp of the children of Israel, which was shedding light on the people of God; and he did not speak before thee except what God had revealed to him." Then the king said to him, "O Abimelech, you have done well in reminding me of him to-day; rise up, go and take men with thee and draw him out of the dungeon, and place him in a house until we ascertain if his words are true or not, and test the truth of his sayings."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. the hands.

<sup>2</sup> P. the boon-companion.

<sup>3</sup> P. And parts of the fruits of which his master had eaten.

<sup>4</sup> The verb *akna'a* "to persuade" is used here for *kafa* "to be sufficient," and this induces us to suppose that the original from which the Arabic version is derived was Greek. The particle of the interrogative *alam* is missing in P. but is found in M.

<sup>5</sup> The above sentences are often differently worded in the MSS.

Abimelech went then immediately and took with him two<sup>1</sup> servants from the palace of the king, and drew up the prophet Jeremiah from the dungeon, after he had spent there twenty-one days, and placed him in a house of peace and rest. Then the prophet Jeremiah said to Abimelech :<sup>2</sup> "Blessed be thou, O my child Abimelech, because thou hadst pity on me in the time of my trials. Thus says the Lord Omnipotent, 'He who does good to those in trouble, or in prison, and to the poor, God will remember him with His grace, and with His help and assistance.'<sup>3</sup> Thou shalt not see the destruction of Jerusalem, O my child, and thou shalt not go to the hardship of the captivity ; thou shalt not die, but shalt live until the Lord turns away His wrath. The sun shall nurture thee and the firmament shall rear thee, and the earth on which thou shalt sleep shall give thee rest, and the stone shall protect thee from the cold of the winter and the heat of the summer, and thy soul shall be in joy and pleasure for seventy years until thou seest Jerusalem in its glory and rebuilt as it was before."

After this King Zedekiah returned to sin before the Lord, and he entered the house of the Lord and took out the two columns of marble which gave light in it without a lamp and placed them in the temple<sup>4</sup> before the statues of Baal and Zeus, and he carried the precious and holy plates<sup>5</sup> to the place where he used to sit and drink with his concubines. He pulled down the altar on which sacrifices were offered, and he made it a table to himself in the temple<sup>6</sup> which belongs to Baal and Zeus. He brought out also the ark of the covenant, and out of the gold of the candle-stick<sup>7</sup> he made a crown which he placed on the head of the idol. He ordered that oxen should be offered to Baal the idol, and summoned the pregnant women in travail and commanded that their offspring should be taken out of their wombs and sacrificed on the fire to Baal and Zeus. He also ordered that all children from two years old and under<sup>8</sup> should

<sup>1</sup> P. omits "two."

<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough P. also has here "Abimelech."

<sup>3</sup> M. omits the last sentence.

<sup>4</sup> M. says : "he brought them to the house in which were the idols Baal and Zeus."

<sup>5</sup> Read the word with a *ṣād* instead of a *sin* in P.

<sup>6</sup> Sic. P., but M. again as above.

<sup>7</sup> P. *manṣarah* and M. better *manārah*.

<sup>8</sup> See Matt. ii. 16.

likewise be sacrificed and their blood taken and offered to Baal and Zeus.<sup>1</sup>

In that very day the earth shook and its (four) points quaked, and the Lord thundered from heaven and his wrath spread over all the earth, and He ordered the angel of anger to come down to it with fury, and had it not been for the intervention of the angels and the holy ones who knelt down before the Lord and besought Him to turn away His wrath from His people, all would have perished. The Lord perceived the odour of their sighing and their holy lamentations,<sup>2</sup> had mercy upon the people of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and removed His wrath and did not destroy them.<sup>3</sup>

And the word of God came to the prophet Jeremiah, saying, 'Jeremiah, Jeremiah,' and he answered, 'Here I am, O Lord.' And the Lord said to him: "I have sworn that I shall not remove my wrath, and I say to you that I shall not do anything before I have told it to you. Were it not for your prayers that<sup>4</sup> have surrounded Jerusalem none of its inhabitants would have been alive, and I would have destroyed it to its foundations, because my eyes are covered with tears over the innocent blood of the children that has been shed; they cry and say, 'Avenge our blood.'<sup>5</sup> Lo, concerning this people among whom you live examine the three following punishments: do you wish me to order Satanael,<sup>6</sup> the angel of wrath, to destroy them and exterminate them from their young ones to their adults, with their old men and young men? Or do you wish me to inflict famine on them and to command heaven which is above them to become brass and the earth which is below them to become iron, so that no dew may fall from heaven and no fruits should come from the earth; and I shall destroy all the trees and annihilate their storehouses that are full so that they may eat one another and fall in the streets of the city

<sup>1</sup> M. omits Zeus.

<sup>2</sup> Read *taṣā'udūt* in P.

<sup>3</sup> M. omits all the last sentence.

<sup>4</sup> Read *al-lati*.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the sentence is literally in P. as follows: "He who is a sinner let us sin" (sic). It is altogether missing in M. and P. adds further: "And who went down to hell that we may know that there is in it grievous torment?"

<sup>6</sup> About Satanael see the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseud.* ii. 439 and passim, and the Ethiopic *Le livre des Mystères* in *Pat. Or.* i. 73. See also Severus ibn al-mukaffa', *Refutation* in *Pat. Or.* iii. 132-133.

from hunger and thirst ? Or do you wish me to allow Nebuchadnezzar who is King of Babylon to subdue them and lord it over them for seventy years, and they be slaves of the Chaldeans to the point of destruction, in order that they may know that I am the God who hold their spirits in my hands ?”

When the prophet Jeremiah heard these words from the Lord, he fell down in worship on his face before Him and wept and said : “O God of all mercy ; Thou art the God of gods and Creator of the universe. Look, O Lord, upon the children of Thy servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to whom Thou sworest that their seed shall be like the stars of heaven ;<sup>1</sup> no, O Lord, do not destroy them one and all, and let not the angel Satanael come down on them because he will not leave a single one of them. Where is<sup>2</sup> the oath that Thou sworest to our father Abraham, Thy beloved, in saying to Him, ‘Thy seed shall not cease under heaven,’ and if Thou sendest against them famine and dearth, and Thou restrainest heaven from sending down its dew, and the earth from yielding its fruit, the children of Thy servants will perish from the surface of the earth, and where shall be the covenant that Thou gavest to Thy servant Israel in saying to him, ‘Thy children shall remain for ever and ever.’ And do not be angry, O Lord, because of the ill-treatment that I receive at the hands of Thy servants :<sup>3</sup> Thy people who sinned against Thee. If Thou orderest for them, O Lord, a deportation by Nebuchadnezzar and a captivity to Babylon, verily a father chastises his sons and a master his servants.”

Then the Lord summoned forthwith the angel Michael, the head of the angels, and said to him : “Arise and go to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and say to him : ‘Go to Judea, to the city of Jerusalem, and spread thy hand and the hand of the Chaldeans who are with thee over its land, and bring into captivity all the inhabitants of the land of Israel, lord it over them, and take them to the land of the Chaldeans, and enslave them there for seventy years. Their adults shall do brickwork and clay work, and their old men shall hew wood and draw water, and their women shall spin and weave

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> A word is missing at the beginning of the sentence in P.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. “because of the affair that I have with Thy servants.” Further, P. exhibits : “Do not be angry *with me*.”



wool, and they shall show thee their work every day, and thou shalt make accounts with them as if they were slaves. Act, however, with mercy and justice towards them, because (in the end) I shall have pity upon them.”

Michael worshipped then the Lord immediately and went in haste to Babylon, which he reached in that very night. He nudged Nebuchadnezzar the king in the right side and said to him: “O Nebuchadnezzar, arise quickly so that I may speak with you.” When Nebuchadnezzar awoke from his sleep and saw the angel of God with shining eyes like the star of the morning, with a spear in his hand, with loins girded with a sword, with feet covered with hot polished<sup>1</sup> brass, and with a terrifying speech, he said to him: “Woe is me, O my master, because in no time have I seen the like of you. Are you not one of the gods of Babylon?<sup>2</sup> Or perchance are you the God who spread heaven and established the earth, and fashioned every thing?” And the angel answered him saying: “I am not God, but His servant. I am one of the seven angels<sup>3</sup> who stand before the throne of the Lord God, and here is what the Lord God says, ‘Arise with all your might and with the Chaldeans, and spread your hand over all the land of Judea and deport its inhabitants and bring them to the land of Babylon. And they shall be slaves to you: their adults shall work at clay and bricks, and their old men shall hew wood and draw water, and their women shall spin and weave wool, and they shall bring in their work every day like slaves, and you shall settle their accounts, but show mercy towards them. I have delivered them to you for punishment, and after that I shall have pity on them for ever and ever.’”<sup>4</sup>

And Nebuchadnezzar said to the angel Michael: “Woe is me, O my master, the Lord has perchance waxed angry with me because of the great number of my sins, and He wishes me to go to foreign lands in order to destroy my life in them; do destroy me with your hand; this would be more advantageous for me than that I and all who are with me should die in a foreign land. Who is the king of Babylon, and who is Nebuchadnezzar before the people of God the

<sup>1</sup>P. hot. Read *maṣḳūl* in M.

<sup>2</sup>M. which god are you?

<sup>3</sup>See about the seven angels the *Book of Enoch* in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseud.* ii. 201.

<sup>4</sup>M. omits “for ever.”

Most High? And who am I that I should go to Jerusalem and fight the people of God? Is it not the people whom Pharaoh fought, and God drowned him in the abysses, and water covered him? Is it not the people whom the Amorites<sup>1</sup> fought, and they all perished? In this way five nations were destroyed before them.<sup>2</sup> Who am I then, O Lord, that I should fight a just people and conquer it, a people who when they go to war do not take with them any material of war, but, if they stretch out their hands, angels help them from heaven and fight on their behalf?<sup>3</sup>

And the angel Michael said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Every thing you said is true. Every people<sup>4</sup> who keep the commandments of God, no one<sup>5</sup> is able to overcome them; but if they forsake His commandments and His law, He delivers them into the hands of their enemies, and they perish at their hands. Now, this people have sinned, prevaricated, and increased their iniquity; <sup>6</sup> arise thou, then, and destroy them that they may know that God is the only one that lasts for ever and ever." When the angel Michael finished his words to Nebuchadnezzar, he stretched his hand, anointed him, and fortified him against the (Jewish) people, and went up to heaven.

After the angel Michael had gone, Nebuchadnezzar arose and went to his wife Hilkiyah<sup>7</sup> whom he awakened from her sleep. He narrated to her all that the angel had told him. When she heard those words from him she was greatly perplexed<sup>8</sup> and fell down<sup>9</sup> weeping, and said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Woe is me, my lord, and my brother; take me with thee wherever<sup>10</sup> thou goest,<sup>11</sup> because I shall not see thee another time. Who is the king who fought this people and was saved? Dost thou not know that this is the people of God, and that everything that they ask from God they obtain it forthwith?"<sup>12</sup> And Nebuchadnezzar said to her: "It is their God

<sup>1</sup> Read *Amorāniun*.

<sup>2</sup> M. omits all this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> It is surprising how quickly Nebuchadnezzar became versed in the Jewish history and in the knowledge of the true God.

<sup>4</sup> Read *sha'bin* in P.

<sup>5</sup> Read *aḥadun* in P.

<sup>6</sup> The last two verbs are not found in M.

<sup>7</sup> In M. *Helkenah*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *idtarabat* in P.

<sup>9</sup> P. wrongly "went out."

<sup>10</sup> P. "when."

<sup>11</sup> Read *tadhhab* in P.

<sup>12</sup> The knowledge of the Queen Helkenah or Hilkiyah concerning the Jewish people is as accurate and perplexing as that of her husband!

that has delivered them up to me." And she said to him : " O my lord, listen attentively to what I am going to say to thee : if thou goest to fight them, take with thee a ram, and when thou art near the city of Judea alight from thy chariot, lay the sceptre of gold<sup>1</sup> that is in thy hand on the head of the ram and let it go ;<sup>2</sup> if it take the direction of Judea,<sup>3</sup> follow it, and know that the Lord has delivered them up to thee ; but if the ram does not proceed forward to Judea but turns its face<sup>4</sup> towards Babylon, return thou with it and fight not the people of God ; if you are like the number of the sand of the sea not a single soul will return alive with thee."

When the wife said these words to the king, he accepted them from her, and he rose forthwith and summoned his generals Cyrus and Isarus,<sup>5</sup> and narrated to them all that God had promised him through His angel. And they said to the king : " May you live for ever ! It is their God that is angry with them. This people has sinned ; send therefore at once a messenger to Zedekiah, king of Jerusalem, to convey to him words of conciliation, and despatch gifts with him, and make inquiries whether his people have worshipped foreign gods and forsaken the words of the Lord, and whether they have refused (to listen to) the prophets who were with them and who interceded with the Lord on their behalf. If not, do not proceed to their land, as He has destroyed others who fought them, and fire will come down on us from heaven and consume us along with our land."<sup>6</sup>

These words pleased King Nebuchadnezzar, who sent forthwith a messenger<sup>7</sup> from his generals, accompanied by a thousand horsemen, and he wrote with him a letter to King Zedekiah, and despatched gifts to him : a great quantity of carmine, gold, and frankincense.<sup>8</sup> The general departed then for Jerusalem with his party. When he reached it, King Zedekiah was informed that the messenger of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had arrived. He at once went out to meet him, surrounded by the women of the children of Israel dancing before their king. Then King Zedekiah dismounted and received the general of the king (of Babylon) and accepted the gifts

<sup>1</sup> P. omits " of gold."

<sup>2</sup> P: " the holy city."

<sup>5</sup> M. Sharus.

<sup>7</sup> Read *rasulan*.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the two last named gifts with Matt. ii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> M. omits " let it go."

<sup>4</sup> Read *biwajhihi* in P.

<sup>6</sup> A leaf is here missing in M.

from him. He took the gold and of it he made a crown which he placed on the head of the idol ; as to the frankincense he burnt it before Baal and Zeus. He was also pleased with the letter of the King Nebuchadnezzar, and he wrote to him to Babylon an answer to his letter in the following terms :

“ Zedekiah, King of Judea, writes to Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, thus : ‘ Peace be with you. This peace exists between you and me. My gods are your gods, and your gods are my gods.’ ”

He sealed the letter, handed it to the general, and despatched with him gems and precious stones. When the priests of Baal, the idol, heard<sup>1</sup> (this) they said to the king : “ Where is Jeremiah who said, ‘ The king of Babylon shall come and take possession of this land ? ’ ”

A few days later the general reached Babylon with the thousand horsemen who were with him, and handed to Nebuchadnezzar the answer to his letter. When the king understood its meaning perfectly he roared like a lion and neighed like the horse which pulls the wheel, and said to Cyrus and his retinue : “ Prepare at once your horses, the troops and the soldiers.”

And Nebuchadnezzar went forth in those days and with him were all the Chaldeans to the number of six hundred thousand horsemen and six hundred thousand chariots, and on each chariot were sixteen horsemen, in all six thousand thousand thousand, and six hundred thousand,<sup>2</sup> with spears, weapons, and leather shields, and they marched on the right hand of the king and on his left, until they reached the partition of the roads between Babylon and Jerusalem. There Nebuchadnezzar alighted from his chariot, stripped himself of the royal robe, removed the crown from his head, brought the sceptre of his kingdom, and put it on the head of the ram. The ram took immediately the road of Judea, and the direction of Jerusalem. The king then said to all who were with him : “ I am very much surprised,<sup>3</sup> but the Lord God has delivered the (Jewish) people to me.” Then the king ordered that his ram<sup>4</sup> should be brought to him

<sup>1</sup> Read *sami'a*.

<sup>2</sup> There is surely much exaggeration in all these numbers, if we understand the computation given here aright.

<sup>3</sup> Read *muta'ajjibun*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *kabshahu*.

and placed<sup>1</sup> on the sceptre of his kingdom pitched in the ground ; and then he placed his robe at his right hand, and removed his crown and laid it under his feet, and he turned his face towards the direction of the east,<sup>2</sup> and said : “ O God whom I do not know, God of the pious Hebrews, and of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, O God whose name I am not worthy to pronounce with my mouth that has sinned and my lips<sup>3</sup> that have deceived.<sup>4</sup> I am afraid that thou shouldest not deliver the (Jewish) people to me because I am a sinner. My sins and those of my people have perchance increased before Thee.” Then he proceeded :<sup>5</sup> “ O God of Israel and God of heavens and earth, whose name has reached me, the unworthy servant,<sup>6</sup> God who has power over heavens and earth, I beseech thee, O Lord, to tell me whether that man who came to my house and nudged me is Thy angel, and whether it is Thy will that I should fight this people. I implore Thee to give a sign to this effect to me and to these men who are standing before Thee,<sup>7</sup> because I am Thy servant, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. Thou hast, O Lord, hardened in the times of yore the heart of Pharaoh, until the sea submerged him and those who were with him. If I have sinned before Thee, and Thou wishest my destruction, destroy me while I am still in the borders of my own land with all those who are with me ; but, O Lord, if Thou truly deliverest (the Jewish people) to me, let the shade of my sceptre return towards me.”

And at that instant the sun moved and the shade of the sceptre of Nebuchadnezzar turned towards his head. (The king) then left the sceptre at his left side and the liver of the goat<sup>8</sup> at his right side and said : “ O Lord fortify my heart.” And the Lord gave him courage

<sup>1</sup> Read *yansubūhu*.

<sup>2</sup> Why the east? Can this sentence be attributed to a Christian? The Christians, as we all know, turned their face in prayer towards the east.

<sup>3</sup> Read *fīya* and *shafataiya*.

<sup>4</sup> M. “for my lips are dirty.” Here ends the lacuna in M.

<sup>5</sup> P. “And he turned his face towards the east, and he prayed and said.”

<sup>6</sup> M. omits.

<sup>7</sup> M. “In this ram that is standing before Thee.” There are many verbal discrepancies in all this paragraph between the text of the two MSS.

<sup>8</sup> *Sic* both MSS. P. has erroneously *kibar* for *kabid* “liver.” All this is somewhat obscure.



and bravery,<sup>1</sup> and he ascertained that it was the God of the Jewish people who had delivered them to him.

And God who is God of mercy remembered Abimelech and his kindness towards the prophet Jeremiah in the days in which King Zedekiah had imprisoned him in the dungeon. And the Lord did not wish<sup>2</sup> him to be in the captivity of Babylon and in the servitude of Nebuchadnezzar. And the servant Abimelech according to his daily habit went to the garden of his master, who was the boon-companion<sup>3</sup> of Zedekiah, in order to bring him fruits. He took a basket which he filled with grapes, figs, and other fruits from the garden of his master, and covered them with green foliage, and carried them in order to bring them to the house of his master. While he was still on the way God remembered the words which He spoke to the prophet Jeremiah, that he "shall not see the destruction of Jerusalem, nor be under the yoke<sup>4</sup> of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon." While he was walking and looking towards heaven, and while the distance (to his destination) was about an hour's (walk), he saw a cave in which there was shade and much refreshing humidity, and he said to himself: "I have gone out before my time, and have not taken to-day bread to the prophet, the man of God, my father Jeremiah; so I shall sit here awhile and sleep for an hour in this refreshing shade." He therefore repaired towards the shade and slept; and he placed the basket near his head, and it was full of grapes, figs, peaches, and pears, covered with foliage. The earth gave him rest, and the rock of the cave expanded over him and covered him like the roof of a house; the dew fortified him and the sun nurtured him, and he did not hunger nor thirst, and he was not affected by the cold of the winter nor the heat of the summer till the time when Jerusalem was destroyed and then rebuilt afresh; (all this happened to him) by the great power of God, which protected him.

After this King Nebuchadnezzar reached Judea, with all his Chaldean generals, and he subjugated all Judea and all the towns round Jerusalem. His troops spread over the land of Israel like locusts, and

<sup>1</sup> Here begins a short lacuna in M.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yurid* in P.

<sup>3</sup> It is curious that P. should make of Ebedmelech the servant of a boon-companion of Zedekiah, instead of Zedekiah himself. Even the name of this boon-companion is given below.

<sup>4</sup> See Jer. xxxix. 16-18.

they clapped with their hands and danced with their feet and said : " Let us go and fight the Hebrews, plunder their possessions and destroy them, because all other people are now in arms against the people of Israel whom nobody has dared approach and subdue down to this day. Their rod was over all the nations by the power of God, their God who fights for them."

All the young men of the children of Israel fell before Nebuchadnezzar, and all their power was weakened, and the people of Israel became before him like pregnant women at the time of their travail. He ordered them to gather together before him bound in fetters of iron.<sup>1</sup> He who was on the roof did not come down except with bonds, and he who was in the sown field did not enter the city except with fetters, and each one of them was seized in the spot where he was, and none was left who did not come to King Nebuchadnezzar who had fixed his throne at the gate of Jerusalem, the ramparts of which he had ordered to be demolished instantly.<sup>2</sup>

When King Zedekiah heard this he was greatly agitated and the pangs of travail overtook him like a woman in labour. He stretched on his bed and spread his mantle over him and covered his face with a kerchief, like a shrouded dead man. His servants took him with the intention of crossing the Jordan with him and fleeing to save him. And King Nebuchadnezzar gave orders that King Zedekiah be brought before him, and Cyrus, his general, went to the residence of Zedekiah, and saw it ornamented with silk, gold, and silver, and his sleeping chamber perfumed with incense and fine aloes-wood,<sup>3</sup> and in it was the idol which he used to worship. And God put in the hearts of the servants of King Nebuchadnezzar to pursue the servants of King Zedekiah, and they overtook them with the bed-litter on their shoulders in the valley<sup>4</sup> of the sea of Karmilis.<sup>5</sup> They threw

<sup>1</sup> Here ends the second short lacuna in M.

<sup>2</sup> There are some verbal discrepancies in the above sentences in the texts of the two MSS.

<sup>3</sup> M. omits "fine aloes-wood."

<sup>4</sup> So we translate *sakir* of P. which is obscure. M. has *saṣir* "falling leaves" which is still more obscure. This variant could not have arisen except from a text written in Arabic in which the letters *fā* and *kā* are only distinguished by an extraneous dot.

<sup>5</sup> This *Karmilis* in P. and *Karlis* in M. is given above (p. 360) as a river and not as a sea or a lake. What is referred to here may possibly be the Dead Sea or the Lake of Tiberias.

him from their shoulders, and took the mantle that was over him, and presented him to Cyrus the first general <sup>1</sup> of the King Nebuchadnezzar. The latter summoned the Chaldeans and ordered that Zedekiah's eyes be put out and placed in his hands, and that his two children be killed and placed one at his right side and the other at his left, and that a collar be tied round his neck in order that he may be led like a dog. They presented him in this state to King Nebuchadnezzar, who commanded that he should be attached to the tail of his horse as far as Babylon, and that there he should drive the mule that pulls the stone of the flour-mill, and be given for food a small quantity only of bread and water. The King Nebuchadnezzar ordered also that all the elders of the children of Israel should be bound <sup>2</sup> and that their necks should be tied to their feet until the bones of their necks were broken, and that the pregnant women should have stones placed on their wombs until they aborted.

The heart of Nebuchadnezzar was hardened against them like the horses which neigh under the wheels, and he said to the Hebrews : "Where is Jeremiah, the prophet of God, that I may ask him whether I should return to my country and to my land, and inquire of him concerning the ark of the Lord, in which are the tables written with the finger of the Lord, and which, I have been told, proceeds before you." And the congregation of the children of Israel cried with weeping and said : "Where can we find the blessed prophet ? <sup>3</sup> The prophet Jeremiah has been imprisoned by King Zedekiah, who ordered that no bread and no water should be given to him until he dies."

While the Hebrews <sup>4</sup> were saying this, lo ! a spirit carried Jeremiah and placed him before King Nebuchadnezzar, and he informed him that the ark was no more <sup>5</sup> because it was on the mountains of Jericho and had disappeared owing to the great quantity of dust that was heaped on it through the effect of the winds. <sup>6</sup> As to the tabernacle of the ark Zedekiah placed it under the idol of Baal. Then the elders of the children of Israel cried and said : "Live, O king, for ever and ever, and allow us to speak before you." And

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic the Græco-Roman *batāriqāt*.

<sup>2</sup> M. adds "by their necks."

<sup>3</sup> P. "blesses God whose sons have been imprisoned."

<sup>4</sup> Read *'ibrānīyun*.

<sup>5</sup> P. : he could not find.

<sup>6</sup> P. only : "And dust was heaped on it by the winds."

Nebuchadnezzar said to them : "Speak ;<sup>1</sup> it is your God who has humbled and dejected you ; who is there to save you ?" And they said to him : "This prophet whom you have summoned is young, do not listen, therefore, to his words, and be not deceived by his personality, as there is nothing to distinguish him from the other men of his own age ; here there is a congregation of the children of Israel standing before you : hand to them staves of olive-trees ; he whose staff comes into leaf in his hand is the true prophet."

The king agreed, and summoned before him all the young men of the children of Israel, and their number<sup>2</sup> was two hundred and twenty thousand, and he handed to them staves of olive-trees. In that very moment the angel carried Jeremiah and presented him to King Nebuchadnezzar, while the staff which was in his hand had come into leaf. When the king saw this, he was greatly astonished and rose from his throne and bowed down to the ground before the prophet Jeremiah and said to him : "Thou art the true prophet of God ; go, therefore, and ask God, if it is He who has sent me to this land ; if not, I shall decamp away from you." And the prophet Jeremiah said to him : "Loosen the fetters of these bound men and give them a little rest from their pain until I go and ask the Lord." And King Nebuchadnezzar loosened their bonds, and the prophet Jeremiah went to the temple of the Lord, and saw it sprinkled with the blood of the young children, and he wept bitterly and said : O God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords,<sup>3</sup> I beseech Thee and implore Thee to-day to look from the height of heavens and show mercy towards Thy people who are under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, and deliver them from the hands of their enemies and their haters. O God of mercy and compassion have pity." And he bowed down on his face to the ground in adoration, interceding in favour of the people. And a voice came to him from the Lord, saying : "O Jeremiah whom I have elected, thou hast interceded sufficiently for this iniquitous nation and this harsh and insensible people.<sup>4</sup> Dost thou not know that I am a compassionate and merciful God ? This people numbers more than eight hundred thousand thousand souls,<sup>5</sup> and in this sixth hour of the day take a lamp in thy

<sup>1</sup> M. adds "what you wish."

<sup>2</sup> Read *wa'adadahum* in P.

<sup>3</sup> M. omits.

<sup>4</sup> M. omits all these adjectives.

<sup>5</sup> M. : "eight hundred thousand and eighty thousand thousand."

hand and walk in all Jerusalem and see if thou canst find a single man among them in whom there is justice ; if thou findest such a one, I shall cancel the deportation order for all the people, and shall not let them go with Nebuchadnezzar ; if thou findest one whose mouth is unpolluted by sacrifices to idols, I shall deliver the people from servitude and shall not allow them to go into captivity ;<sup>1</sup> if thou findest a single man who loves his brother<sup>2</sup> or his friend, I shall save them all ; but if thou findest no one, enter the temple and place the burning lamp on the candlestick, and it will not burn out until seventy years have elapsed, when the people shall have returned, walking in my ways, following my law and not forsaking what is due to me.<sup>3</sup> When thou hast placed the burning lamp in its place, remove the garment of light<sup>4</sup> from thee, and accompany the people into captivity where they<sup>5</sup> shall be under the power of Nebuchadnezzar for seventy years."

When the prophet Jeremiah heard this from the Lord he went out with a burning lamp in his hand. Some men from the people said to him : "O father Jeremiah, why dost thou walk with a burning lamp in daylight ?" And he answered : "I am in search of a man in whom there is justice<sup>6</sup> and I am not able to find any." Some others said to him : "O father Jeremiah why dost thou walk with a lamp in daylight ?" And he answered : "I am in search of a man whose mouth is unpolluted by sacrifices to idols, and I am not able to find any." Yet some others said to him : "O Father Jeremiah why dost thou walk with a lamp in daylight ?" And he answered : "I am in search of a man in whom there is love for his friend or his neighbour,<sup>7</sup> and I am not able to find any."

And Jeremiah searched among all the people, but he was unable to find any man (with the above qualifications). Then he wept bitterly, and went into the temple of God and placed the lamp burning to itself on the candlestick ; and he entered the place<sup>8</sup> in which the holy vestments are kept, and brought out the garment of

<sup>1</sup> M. omits the second part of the sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Read *akhāhu* in P. M. omits it.

<sup>3</sup> M. omits the two last sentences.

<sup>5</sup> P. "you."

<sup>7</sup> M. omits "friend" and "neighbour."

<sup>8</sup> P. "the house of the Lord."

<sup>4</sup> M. "of prophecy."

<sup>6</sup> Read *birrun*.



the High Priest, and he mounted the terrace of the temple and addressed the stone which was the head of the corner :<sup>1</sup> "To thee<sup>2</sup> I say that thou hast been a great honour to all those that surround thee and thou hast consolidated them,<sup>3</sup> and thou art like the eternal Son of God who shall come into the world : the faithful King, and the Lord of the two testaments, the old and the new ;<sup>4</sup> for this reason I shall say to thee that this temple shall only be demolished up to the place of the corner-stone ;<sup>5</sup> this is the reason why thou hast received this honour. Open now thy mouth and receive the garment of the High Priest and keep it with thee until the time God wishes and brings back Israel, his people."<sup>6</sup>

The stone immediately opened its mouth and received the brodered coat of priesthood from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah. Then he took the mitre on which was written the name of the Lord Sabaoth, the Omnipotent, which Aaron and his sons used to place on their heads at the divine service,<sup>7</sup> and lifted it to heaven and said to the sun : "To thee, I say, O owner of the great light, and O hidden<sup>8</sup> chief, I cannot see the like of thee in all the creatures of God, be therefore the keeper of this head covering on the sides of which is written the name of God the Omnipotent, keep it till the day in which God brings back from captivity the children of Israel to this place." And he threw the mitre towards it, and a ray of the sun

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. xxi. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Put in the feminine form all the verbs and adjectives in P.

<sup>3</sup> P. "to all those that sin (*sic*) against thee and thou hast saved them."

<sup>4</sup> These sentences are to be ascribed to a Christian hand.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Luke xxi. 6 ; Mk. xiii. 2. The corner-stone of the temple seems to be referred by the author to Christ.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*Pat. Syr.* ii. 1076-1078) it is the Angels who hide the sacred vessels. In the *Second Book of the Maccabees*, however, it is Jeremiah who hides the ark, the tabernacle, and the altar of incense. See Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseud.* i. 133-134. See also Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 23. In the following pages our author seems to be more constantly under the influence of the *Last Words of Baruch*, and there is no necessity to refer on every occasion to Harris's edition which should be consulted by every reader of the present Apocryphon.

<sup>7</sup> The Arabic *ḡuddās* from Syr. *ḡuddāsh* is generally applied to the Mass.

<sup>8</sup> M. : heating or protecting.

took it up.<sup>1</sup> And Jeremiah hid<sup>2</sup> the rest of the belongings of the house of the Lord.

When Jeremiah finished all this he removed from himself the garment of light<sup>3</sup> in the middle of the temple, and put on sackcloth and girded himself with a linen girdle on his loins, and worshipped the Lord before the sanctuary, and bowed down his head to the ground; then he took the keys of the temple of the Lord and threw them upon the door-post and said: "O threshold of the temple of the Lord, receive these keys until the Lord brings back the people from captivity." And immediately the high door-post received them from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah.<sup>4</sup>

After this Jeremiah presented himself to the king of the Chaldeans. When the people noticed that Jeremiah was wearing sackcloth, and that his head was full of earth,<sup>5</sup> they all cried with wailing and weeping, and threw earth on their heads, because they had ascertained that the Lord had not forgiven them. They were aware of the fact that when Jeremiah entered the temple and interceded in favour of the people, if the Lord had pity on them and had accepted his prayer and his intervention on their behalf, he came out to them wearing a white garment and his head perfumed with scent down to his beard and the opening of his robe.<sup>6</sup>

When Jeremiah finished these things, he said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Ride on thy chariot and proceed to Babylon, because the Lord has delivered this people to thee for punishment;<sup>7</sup> and no harm shall befall thee."<sup>8</sup> And Nebuchadnezzar arose like a lion and went to Babylon, his country. He ordered his generals and the head of his army to gather together all the Jews<sup>9</sup> and march them in front of

<sup>1</sup> Here as below (p. 393) it is very difficult to ascertain what the author had precisely in mind when using the words *ṭailasān*, *ḳalansuah*, *izār*, *mandīl*, and *ridā*.

<sup>2</sup> M. omits the verb.

<sup>3</sup> M. "of prophecy" as above.

<sup>4</sup> The Talmud (*Ta'anith*, c. 4, fol. 29) declares that it was the priests who threw the keys towards heaven. So also *The Rest of the Words of Baruch* (edit. Harris), p. 51. See Harris (*ibid.*), pp. 18-19.

<sup>5</sup> M.: ashes.

<sup>6</sup> M. adds: "And when he came out wearing sackcloth and ashes on his head they knew that God had not pitied them."

<sup>7</sup> M. omits "punishment."

<sup>8</sup> M. omits this sentence.

<sup>9</sup> Read *al-yahūd* in P.

them. And the prophet Jeremiah walked in front of them weeping,<sup>1</sup> with bare feet and a bare head.<sup>2</sup> When the king noticed him he said to him : "What fault hast thou, O prophet of God ? Come and ride with me ; but it is not fitting to ride with the king while thou art wearing sackcloth."<sup>3</sup> And the prophet Jeremiah answered him and said : "I have sinned before the Lord more than all the people ; by the living Lord, my God, I shall not remove this garment from me until the Lord turns away His wrath and puts an end to the captivity of His people." Then King Nebuchadnezzar ordered his generals to make the prophet Jeremiah ride with them by force.

The Hebrew people walked to Babylon in great hardship and pain,<sup>4</sup> and in less than a month their dresses were spoiled, and became like old and worn out skins, and their shoes were torn from their feet, and the hair of their heads grew up and came down to their shoulders like that of women, and the sun scorched their bodies to the point of destruction, and mud and muck mounted their bodies and stuck to them, and gave rise to blisters, wounds, and sores in their flesh ; and the cold of the moon and of the stars affected them by night until they fell down on their faces, and they lost their way in the intensity of darkness that overtook them. They wept and fell upon one another, and were on the point of dying from hunger and thirst ; they cried with a sigh and lifted their eyes towards heaven and said : "What a difference between this and the manna and the quails which God gave to Moses, and the spring of sweet water that jetted forth from a rock in the desert." Instead of this God caused dust to come on them from heaven, and changed the sweet water into a brackish and bitter water, until they were affected with a mange and scab for which there was no remedy.

The pregnant women aborted<sup>5</sup> from the fatigue of the journey, and those who suckled threw their young ones from their shoulders

<sup>1</sup> P. omits "weeping."

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that our author makes Jeremiah go to Babylon instead of staying in Palestine. Jeremiah is also made to go to Babylon in 2 *Baruch* in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseud.* ii. 485, 499, and in *Midr. 'Eser Galuyyot* (edit. Grünhut, iii. 14).

<sup>3</sup> These sentences are not in M. in the place assigned to them by P, and the two MSS. exhibit here considerable verbal differences.

<sup>4</sup> Read *dikin* and *sharrin* in P. and *dikin* only in M.

<sup>5</sup> Read *tarahna* and put all the other verbs and pronouns in fem. plur.

because their breasts dried up from the hunger and thirst that overtook them, and could not give suck to their infants, and they cried with bitter weeping and great grief and said : " O Lord, Thy judgments are just, and everything Thou hast done to us is done with wisdom,<sup>1</sup> because Thou hast requited us according to our deeds ; we have sacrificed our children to the idols, and Thou art punishing us according to our works. Because we have revolted against Thee and sinned before Thee, all this calamity has befallen us, and we deserve a punishment more severe than this."<sup>2</sup>

And Nebuchadnezzar brought them to Babylon, and he entered his palace and kissed the faces of his children and his wife.<sup>3</sup> He was filled with joy in seeing them,<sup>4</sup> and he narrated to them all that happened to them from the day he left them and went out of the country of the Chaldeans to the day he came back to them. Then he put on royal garments and<sup>5</sup> sat for the trial of the Hebrews, and the arrangement of the business of their work and hire.<sup>6</sup> He counted them and discovered that they had diminished by two hundred and twenty thousand and fifty souls ; these had perished in the way from fatigue, hunger, and thirst, not counting the infants who had died on the arms of their mothers.

King Nebuchadnezzar ordered that the adults should do clay-work and brickwork, that the old men should hew wood and draw water, and that the women should spin and weave wool ; he further ordered that they should all show their work every day like slaves, and that every day they should be given a little food consisting of bread and water. And the Hebrews served<sup>7</sup> in Babylon under the yoke of slavery, and King Nebuchadnezzar built through them many<sup>8</sup> villages, towers,<sup>9</sup> houses, granaries, and forts on the shores of the sea which surrounds Babylon.<sup>10</sup> The Chaldeans used to go every day to the river with their harps, and guitars, and used to ask the Hebrews, saying : " Show us how you sing to your Lord and your

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is missing in M.

<sup>2</sup> The last sentence is missing in P.

<sup>3</sup> P. omits " wife."

<sup>4</sup> P. " when he saluted them."

<sup>5</sup> P. " the king did not take a rest but sat."

<sup>6</sup> M. " toil."

<sup>7</sup> Read *khadama*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *kathirah*.

<sup>9</sup> P. omits

<sup>10</sup> Which sea ?

God." And the Hebrews used to answer <sup>1</sup> with weeping and sighing : "How can we sing the praise of the Lord in a strange land ?" <sup>2</sup> The people of the Lord were greatly subdued and they cried while weeping and sobbing, and said : "The Lord has justly inflicted upon us this calamity, according to <sup>3</sup> our deeds.<sup>4</sup> Now, O Lord, look upon us, with mercy, because our faces have been put to shame before us ; Thou our Lord and our God, do not requite us according to the iniquity of our deeds, because it is we who <sup>5</sup> have kindled Thy wrath, and not listened to Thy prophets in Jerusalem."

The Hebrews toiled for the king in Babylon, and his servants <sup>6</sup> drove them about,<sup>7</sup> and greatly tormented them. And Jeremiah the prophet prayed night and day in Babylon, and interceded with God in favour of the people, when he saw their tribulations and their pains.<sup>8</sup> As to Zedekiah he was tied to the chariot of Nebuchadnezzar until he reached Babylon, and there he was appointed to drive the horse of the flour-mill for forty years<sup>9</sup> in captivity. He was in great tribulation all this time ; then he died in wretchedness and bodily exhaustion that he felt more than other people. And Nebuchadnezzar showed mercy towards the Hebrews all the time of his life.<sup>10</sup>

When Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon died, he was succeeded by Cyrus the Persian, who greatly tormented the Hebrews with hunger and thirst, and reduced the rations of the food which they were given in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. He gave to each one of them one loaf of bread once in two days, and diminished the quantity of water to be given to them. He also increased their labours, and inflicted upon them grievous harm, and their number began to dwindle. After

<sup>1</sup> Read *fayakūlu al'ibrāniyūn*.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxxxvii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> This *'iwaḍ* seems to be a translation of the Syriac *helāf*.

<sup>4</sup> This phrase is obscure in M.

<sup>5</sup> Read *al-ladhīn* in P.

<sup>6</sup> P. "and the Chaldeans."

<sup>7</sup> The verb *sahata* used in this sense by P. is colloquial. M. omits it.

<sup>8</sup> The author is consistent with himself in placing in Babylon the prayers of Jeremiah, see above, p. 378.

<sup>9</sup> This date seems to be improbable.

<sup>10</sup> It is remarkable that Nebuchadnezzar is made in the document to play the rôle of a good monarch acting under the orders of God. This reminds one of the Romance of Alexander in which the Macedonian conqueror is made in Syriac and Arabic literature to play the rôle of a pious man guided by Divine Providence.



they had numbered one hundred thousand thousand<sup>1</sup> and eighty thousand thousand, nothing remained of them but eighty thousand thousand.<sup>2</sup>

Some Hebrew children, seventy in number, used to learn with Chaldean children.<sup>3</sup> Among them was a young boy called Ezra. His mother took him to the scribes while he was still very young, not distinguishing good from evil. And the spirit of God was upon him. And the children of the Hebrews and the children of the Chaldeans used to go every day and carry water on their shoulders for their teachers.<sup>4</sup>

When they went one day to carry water, the jar of Ezra fell down<sup>5</sup> and broke. Then the children of the Chaldeans turned<sup>6</sup> to the children of the Hebrews and said to them: "Fie! O miserable, weak, and despicable ones!" And they clapped their hands and said: "O Hebrews, you are weak people in whom there is no energy."<sup>6</sup> And they laughed at Ezra, who lifted his eyes towards heaven, sobbed, wept bitterly, and said: "O my Lord, and God Omnipotent, turn towards us and have mercy upon us for the sake of Abraham Thy beloved, and Isaac Thy servant, and Israel Thy holy one. Do not forget the covenant that Thou hast established with Thy servants our fathers, and do not remove from us Thy face and Thy mercy. We are hated by all nations, and despised and rejected in this nation.<sup>7</sup> Now, O Lord, look upon us, and show us mercy from Thyself. We have sinned before Thee, but Thou art forgiving and merciful, O Lord. Thou forgivest sins and Thou desirest not the death of sinners."<sup>8</sup>

When Ezra finished his prayer, he took off his mantle and went

<sup>1</sup> M. "eight hundred thousand thousand." All these numbers are surely exaggerated.

<sup>2</sup> It is very remarkable that Cyrus who is represented in Jewish literature in such a good light and is therein called "the friend of Jahweh" and "Jaweh's anointed" should here have such a black character.

<sup>3</sup> P. "under Chaldean masters."

<sup>4</sup> Put the verb in the singular. Lit. "scribes."

<sup>5</sup> M. adds "in the sea." All this mention of the sea in Babylon where there is no sea seems to suggest that the author was living in a place where there was sea. This place is either west of Palestine or preferably Egypt.

<sup>6</sup> There are many verbal differences in this paragraph between the two MSS.

<sup>7</sup> P. adds: "Amidst Thy creation."

<sup>8</sup> M. omits the last sentence.

into the sea, and filled it with water as if it were a jar ; then he placed it on his shoulder and walked with his fellow-students, and not a single drop fell from it.<sup>1</sup> When he reached the scribes,<sup>2</sup> he began to sprinkle the place with water from his mantle ; then he put it on immediately, and it was as dry as before. When the teacher saw him, he rose up and bowed down to the ground before him and said : " Verily I say unto thee, O Ezra, my child, it is thou who shalt deliver thy people from captivity."

And Ezra was growing every day in grace before God, and men,<sup>3</sup> he and the other children of the Hebrews. A few days later the children wished to go out to draw water as was their wont. The children of the Chaldeans went out and said to one another : " Let us separate ourselves from the children of the Hebrews, and not have any intercourse with them, and not eat and drink with them, because they do not worship our gods."<sup>4</sup> And they seceded from them, beat them, sneered at them and insulted their God.<sup>5</sup> When Ezra saw what had happened, he wept over his companions and implored God to help them.<sup>6</sup> Then he struck a rock with his feet, and water sprang from it like a sea, and it increased in volume until it reached the feet of the Chaldeans as if to drown them.<sup>7</sup> The teacher rose up instantly and knelt down before Ezra and kissed his hands and his feet and said to him : " What is there between thee and these dogs ? Dost thou wish to destroy all the town because of them ?

Then Ezra had pity on his teacher, when he noticed his weeping, and he repaired to the spot where the rock was found and laid his foot on it<sup>8</sup> and said : " O earth, open thy mouth and swallow this water, because the Lord has said, ' No second flood of water shall come unto the earth,'<sup>9</sup> but that fire shall come which will consume the

<sup>1</sup> In the *Gospel of the Infancy* (Cowper's the *Apochryphal Gospels*, p. 75, sixth edit.) a similar anecdote is attributed to Christ. See also *ibid.*, pp. 453-454.

<sup>2</sup> P. " the school."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Luke ii. 40. P. omits " and men."

<sup>4</sup> This paragraph also is very differently worded in the two MSS.

<sup>5</sup> P. omits the last sentence.

<sup>6</sup> P. omits the last two sentences.

<sup>7</sup> P. omits the last sentence, but adds : " while jetting forth from the stone until it became like a flood."

<sup>8</sup> P. omits.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Gen. ix. 11.

earth to its foundations and purify it,<sup>1</sup> in the last day." The earth opened then its mouth at once and swallowed all the water. And Ezra rose up and took all the children of the Hebrews, and removed them from the school<sup>2</sup> of the Chaldeans.

After all this King Cyrus summoned the people of the Hebrews before him, and said to them: "Bring me all your harps through which you praise your God, and play them before me." And they said to King Cyrus: "We fear to play them in a strange land, because our God does not wish it." And Cyrus said to them: "As you praised your God in Jerusalem so do here." And they answered him saying: "The sons of Levi whom God has chosen take precedence of us and play the harps." And King Cyrus summoned the tribe of Levi before all the Hebrews and ordered that they should begin and sing to the accompaniment of the harps.<sup>3</sup> They came before them and played the harp, and while shouting in unison they clapped their hands and beat the earth with their feet. Then the ground lifted immediately those who were standing on it, and mounted upwards,<sup>4</sup> as if to cause the children of Israel to descend upon their own land, and their voices were heard that day in Jerusalem.

The Chaldeans feared<sup>5</sup> then and became disturbed, and a cloud came down from heaven, and overshadowed the temple in Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> All those who were in Jerusalem ascertained in that day that the Lord had mercy upon the people of Israel, and that He was willing to deliver them from captivity. When Cyrus, king of the Chaldeans, noticed what had happened through the play on the harps, he feared greatly and said to the Hebrews: "Do not move the strings of your harps with your hands<sup>7</sup> as long as you are in these countries, until you go to your own countries and praise your God in the town of Jerusalem."<sup>8</sup>

When the seventy years of the captivity had elapsed, there were

<sup>1</sup> Read: *yutakhkiruha* in P.

<sup>2</sup> M. "and brought them to."

<sup>3</sup> M. "and play the harps."

<sup>4</sup> M. "And immediately the ground upon which they stood shook and mounted upwards."

<sup>5</sup> Read: *fakhāfa*.

<sup>6</sup> P. omits "in Jerusalem."

<sup>7</sup> M. "Do not take out your harps."

<sup>8</sup> P. adds "as was your wont."

three young men : Ezra son of Yaratha,<sup>1</sup> and Daniel son of Betariah,<sup>2</sup> and Ezekiel son of Buzi,<sup>3</sup> to whom God spoke, and who prophesied in Babylon. They said to one another : " Let us take a lamb and go out to the desert and there offer <sup>4</sup> a sacrifice to the God of Israel, as our fathers were wont to do, for the remission of their sins, and God <sup>5</sup> used to send down to them from heaven a rod of fire and receive their sacrifices after they had offered them.<sup>6</sup> Let us go and do the same because <sup>7</sup> the grace of God and His mercy have perhaps come near us,<sup>8</sup> and the Lord will send His angel to receive our sacrifice from us." And they did this.

Then Ezra took wood of atraphis,<sup>9</sup> wood of styrax, and wood of ebony,<sup>10</sup> in all three varieties of wood, placed a ram on the wood, turned his face towards the sunrise,<sup>11</sup> and looked towards Jerusalem,<sup>12</sup> and prayed to God of Israel, saying : " O Lord God of our pious fathers, the One and Eternal God, who heard Abel, the first murdered man,<sup>13</sup> and took his revenge from his brother Cain ; who created the

<sup>1</sup> P. *Neriaah*. A confusion with the father of Baruch. *Yaratha* may be a mistake for *Seraiah* (Ezra vii. 1). The mistake may have arisen through Arabic characters which do not differ considerably in the two names; this graphic difference is still slighter with *Betariah*, the father of Daniel, who follows immediately.

<sup>2</sup> M. *Retūbah*. I do not know anything about this man. *Betariah* may be a mistake for *Seraiah* (Ezra vii. 1) caused by the very slight difference in the letters of the Arabic script of the two names. See the following and preceding notes.

<sup>3</sup> P. *Baradi*. The difference between *Buzi* and *Baradi* is very slight in Arabic script, and here and elsewhere it shows that the original from which the Garshūni MS. of Paris emanates was written in Arabic characters. The mistaken reading *Baradi* could hardly have arisen otherwise.

<sup>4</sup> The verb *aš'ada* seems here to be a translation of the Syriac *assek* used in the sense of "to offer" a sacrifice.

<sup>5</sup> P. "an angel."

<sup>6</sup> P. adds "to God."

<sup>7</sup> P. omits this sentence.

<sup>8</sup> Read *minna*. *minnan* of P. seems to be an echo of the Syriac *minnan*.

<sup>9</sup> What kind of a tree is it?

<sup>10</sup> There is no ebony in Babylon.

<sup>11</sup> Note that the author makes mention here also as above in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, of the direction of the East.

<sup>12</sup> Jerusalem is not East of Babylon. We might conclude from this sentence that the author of the document was writing in a country situated West of Palestine. Could this country be Egypt?

<sup>13</sup> Lit. the first martyr. Can this denote a Christian hand?

image of Seth beforehand according to His own image, and removed from him the power of darkness ; who caused Enoch to ascend to heaven with his body on account of the purity of his heart, and taught him the secrets of heaven and what is to take place at the end of the world ;<sup>1</sup> who delivered Noah because of his justice, and granted to him the power of Adam before his fall and made him the lord of everything which is under heaven : I pray Thee and beseech Thee, O Lord, O Omnipotent God, to hear my supplication and listen to my prayer,<sup>2</sup> and to my tears. Remember the covenant which Thou hast made with our father<sup>3</sup> Abraham when Thou saidst to him, 'If thy sons keep My covenant, I will destroy their enemies.'<sup>4</sup> Now, O Lord, I implore Thee to visit Thy servants, who are ready to die for<sup>5</sup> Thy holy name. Listen to us to-day from the height<sup>6</sup> of Thy heaven, and receive our sacrifice, smell its odour, and show pity and forgiveness to Thy people."

When Ezra finished his prayer with his brethren who were with him, their supplication reached the throne of the Lord, and their words penetrated the hearing of the Lord Sabaoth, who sent His angel, in the figure of a man, to take up their offerings to the Lord. Michael, the head of the angels, came down from heaven, and stood on their altar, and burned the wood and the lamb with a rod of fire that he held in his hand, and after the fire had consumed everything that was there, he ascended to heaven. He stood up in the air,<sup>7</sup> looked at<sup>8</sup> the three young men, and blessed them with the heavenly blessing, and then heaven opened and received him.

As to the prophet Jeremiah<sup>9</sup> he went while wearing sackcloth to King Cyrus. He further interceded with the Lord in favour of the people, and while standing in prayer before the Lord, he said : "O Lord, O Lord, O God of my spirit and of my body,<sup>10</sup> listen now to the supplication of Thy servant on behalf of the tribulations of this

<sup>1</sup> Was the author familiar with the *Book of Enoch* ?

<sup>2</sup> P. omits "prayer."

<sup>3</sup> Read *abina* in P.

<sup>4</sup> Not found verbatim in Gen.

<sup>5</sup> P. "We are slaves unto death for . . ."

<sup>6</sup> Remove the final *aliph* in P.

<sup>7</sup> P. adds "in the firmament."

<sup>8</sup> P. "purified" or "appeared to."

<sup>9</sup> Here also the author is consistent with himself in placing Jeremiah in Babylon.

<sup>10</sup> M. omits this sentence.



people against whom the days of Thy wrath have ended. Fulfil (Thy promise about) the appointed time that Thou hast decreed for the deliverance of Thy people." And the Lord summoned the angel Michael saying : " Make haste and go down to the land of the Chaldeans, and save the people and take them out of their captivity. If the inhabitants of Babylon impede them, I shall make heaven stick to the earth and I shall cause My wrath to dwell in them until they allow them to go from under their hands. Go also to the prophet Jeremiah, My elected one, and impart this news to him ; take him to the king of Babylon, and deliver the people from him. If the king of the Chaldeans impedes them I shall destroy him with his people as I destroyed Pharaoh in the times of yore with the Egyptians who were with him, and all his chariots."

While the prophet Jeremiah was in the sepulchral vault<sup>1</sup> weeping over the sins of the people,<sup>2</sup> lo ! the angel Michael came to him and said to him : " Peace be with you, O elected prophet of God.<sup>3</sup> Grow cheerful because it is time for cheerfulness."<sup>4</sup> And the prophet Jeremiah looked at Michael, the angel of God, and said to him : " Here I am, O angel of the Lord. I recognised thy greeting, and thy words have strengthened my bones. Where wast thou that thou didst not appear to me till this day in which I am in great trouble with this people, like a father with his children ?" And the angel said to the prophet Jeremiah : " Here I am to-day before you in order to deliver your people, because I have been sent by God for this purpose, on account of your prayer which has been accepted.<sup>5</sup> Thus says the Lord whom I serve,<sup>6</sup> ' I have mercy on this people and I wish to send them back to their land and their country in order that they may serve Me there. If the kings of Babylon<sup>7</sup> do not allow them to go, I shall wax angry with them and destroy their land, in order to force them to send them back, and if in spite of this they refuse I shall do with them what I did with Pharaoh, the king of Egypt.' "

After the angel Michael had said this to the prophet Jeremiah, he addressed him thus : " You remain here until I go and summon all the

<sup>1</sup> The word used is the Greek *ναός*. What does the author mean by this term ?

<sup>2</sup> P. omits this sentence.

<sup>4</sup> P. adds " O man of God."

<sup>6</sup> M. " thou servest."

<sup>3</sup> P. omits this sentence.

<sup>5</sup> P. omits this sentence.

<sup>7</sup> P. omits.

people to you." And the angel Michael went out and took the form <sup>1</sup> of a Hebrew man, and assembled all the people of Israel in one place as if they were one man, and he repaired to those who were making bricks and clay and said to them : " You have worked sufficiently ; go now to your father Jeremiah, because the Lord has saved you from this toil." And he went to those who were hewing wood and drawing water, and said the same thing to them. And he went to town to those women who were weaving wool, and he said to them : " You have had enough work and toil ; the Lord has saved you from your work, and given you deliverance. Come on and go to your father Jeremiah." And none was left, but all gathered together. The angel Michael gathered them all together with the prophet Jeremiah,<sup>2</sup> and all went to King Cyrus and to the first general of the Chaldeans. And Jeremiah said to Cyrus and to Emesis his first general.<sup>3</sup> " Listen to the words of the Lord, God of Israel." And he began to repeat to them the words uttered to him by the angel Michael. And Cyrus and Emesis said to the prophet Jeremiah : " And who is the God of Israel ? You, O Hebrews, return to your work, and throw such words away from you." And the king ordered the prophet Jeremiah to be flogged before them ; and this was done in a cruel way.<sup>4</sup> And King Cyrus and Emesis went then out of the palace, and ordered the superintendents of the work of the Hebrews to strike the latter and torment them until they did their duty. And Cyrus and Emesis rode and went out themselves in order to torment the Hebrews.

In that very hour a cloud and mist appeared, the earth shook, a big earthquake occurred, wind became fierce, the sun suffered eclipse in the middle of the day, and darkness covered the earth. The inhabitants of the earth mixed pell-mell, horsemen with the crowds, and the feet of the horses that were ridden sunk deep into the earth like pegs ; until all the Chaldeans cried to King Cyrus and to Emesis and said to them : " Is not this sufficient for you ? <sup>5</sup> Do you wish the Lord to do with us <sup>6</sup> as He did with the Amorites ?" As to King Cyrus he fell from his horse and his backbone broke ; likewise the first general Emesis fell and his right arm broke to the elbow-joint.

<sup>1</sup> Read *shubh* in P.

<sup>2</sup> In P. it is Jeremiah who gathers them together.

<sup>3</sup> M. : vizier.

<sup>4</sup> In P. " In your blasphemy."

<sup>5</sup> P. " with you."

<sup>6</sup> P. omits this sentence.

Then the two cried : " O God of Abraham and God of Isaac and God of Israel, God of the Hebrews, have pity on us ; we have sinned against Thee, because we have not allowed Thy people to get out of our land. We pray Thee and beseech Thee, O Lord, to have mercy upon us and not to punish us for our sins. Pity us and heal us, and we shall let them go to their land in joy and peace." And the prophet Jeremiah had pity on them when he heard their words and their sobs, and he approached King Cyrus and raised him up from the ground and healed his bone which was broken ; he did likewise heal the arm of the first general of the Chaldeans.

When the Lord noticed that their hearts had turned away from that on which they were bent, He gave orders<sup>1</sup> and the earth and all the inhabited globe became quiet, and the sun shone on the surface of the earth. Then King Cyrus and Emesis summoned the Hebrews, reckoned their working days, and paid them their wages in full, and gave them much gold and silver.<sup>2</sup> The king<sup>3</sup> helped then the prophet Jeremiah to mount his own steed, and clothed him in royal garments, and placed his crown upon his head, and delivered to him many horses, mules, and camels,<sup>4</sup> laden with provisions for the journey. He further wrote letters to all the land of the Chaldeans ordering (its inhabitants) to welcome the prophet Jeremiah and his people (when they passed by them), and wish them Godspeed in joy and merriment, and to honour them and render service to them until they left them. And the king presented also the prophet Jeremiah with twelve<sup>5</sup> slaves.

And the prophet Jeremiah left the towns of the Chaldeans with all the people of the Hebrews. The number of the Hebrews who went out of Babylon was eighty thousand thousand ; they had thus diminished by a hundred thousand thousand during their stay in captivity.<sup>6</sup>

When they left Babylon they began with prayers and supplications, saying : " Rise, rise, O Jerusalem, and rejoice, and wear thy

<sup>1</sup> P. omits the verb.

<sup>2</sup> M. omits " silver."

<sup>3</sup> In all the following sentences the subject in P. is " the King," but in M. the subject is the indefinite " they."

<sup>4</sup> Read *jīmāl* in P. for *hīmāl*. This variant could not have arisen except through Arabic characters in which the letters *jīm* and *hā'* are distinguished only by an extraneous dot.

<sup>5</sup> M. " ten."

<sup>6</sup> P. adds " in Babylon."

diadem in joy and gladness, because thy children who had left thee with tears,<sup>1</sup> fear, and sadness,<sup>2</sup> have come to thee with joy,<sup>3</sup> and jubilation." And the prophet Jeremiah went out to his land in joy and gladness,<sup>4</sup> and all the towns of the Chaldeans honoured him, and horsemen were riding before him up to Jerusalem in order to praise it and to honour it with the people; and in this state they reached Jerusalem.

As to the servant Abimelech, he awoke from his sleep and went out of the place in which he was sleeping, and the stone that was over him moved away.<sup>5</sup> He looked at the basket<sup>6</sup> of grapes, figs, and other fruits<sup>7</sup> and saw that their dust was still on them, and noticed that the green foliage with which they were covered had become longer and broader. And Abimelech said to himself: "I have not overslept and my head is still heavy with sleep; I shall get some more rest and rise up and go to town, because it is time for me to take some food to the prophet Jeremiah, my blessed father, who is in prison."

When Abimelech awoke from his sleep, exactly seventy years had elapsed.<sup>8</sup> He carried the basket<sup>9</sup> of grapes, figs,<sup>10</sup> and other fruits, which were as fresh as when they were picked, and entered Jerusalem. When he saw that its rampart was demolished and the town itself destroyed, and when he noticed that vines and fig-trees were just showing their buds, the palm-trees their spadices, and the sycamore trees their sprouts, he was amazed and bewildered. When he went inside the town and noticed that its streets had changed and its walls had either altered or were demolished, and that the destroyed buildings in it were reconstructed, and the reconstructed buildings in it destroyed, and when he did not find in it anyone whom he could recognise, his mind became confused, and he stood and said: "O my Lord and my God, what is this delusion that has<sup>11</sup> overtaken me?"

<sup>1</sup> P. adds "in subjection."

<sup>2</sup> Put a *wāw* before the word in P.

<sup>3</sup> P. "peace."

<sup>4</sup> M. omits this sentence.

<sup>5</sup> P. omits the last sentence.

<sup>6</sup> M. "baskets."

<sup>7</sup> Read *fākihah* in P.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the story of the "Seven Sleepers." In 4 *Baruch* (Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseud.* ii. 533), Abimelech falls asleep in the garden of Agrippa and does not awake for sixty-six years and not seventy. See Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> M. "baskets."

<sup>10</sup> P. omits "figs."

<sup>11</sup> Read *al-lati*.

Then he saw an old man collecting firewood, and he went to him, and the old man said to him : "What can I do for my son ?"<sup>1</sup> And he said to him : "What did King Zedekiah do to-day with my father, the prophet Jeremiah ? Did he free him from the dungeon ?" And the old man said to him : "What are these words you are uttering, my son ? Who is Zedekiah, and who is Jeremiah ? Seventy years have elapsed this day from the day in which Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem, and carried the people into captivity to Babylon, and the prophet Jeremiah was among them." And Abimelech said to him : "Had you not been an old man I would have said to you that you were mad. I went a little while ago<sup>2</sup> to the garden of my master<sup>3</sup> and brought him fruits, but my eyes being somewhat heavy, I slept<sup>4</sup> for a short time. Is it in this short time that the people were carried into captivity ? Is it possible that darkness<sup>5</sup> has overtaken them and covered them ? Or that the moon<sup>6</sup> has swallowed them that I am unable to see any of them ?"

The old man answered then and said : "You are truly a holy man, and God spared you the sight of the destruction of Jerusalem, the great tribulations of the road and the subjection to Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>7</sup> He has brought down sleep upon you in order that you may see Jerusalem reconstructed as in the days of her glory. If you wish to ascertain the truth<sup>8</sup> of my words : this is the first day in which the prophet Jeremiah arrived accompanied by all the people ; this should be a proof for you that Jerusalem has returned to its former state. You are truly a holy man of the Lord, who had pity on you and granted you rest for seventy years, until the people came back to their place. O my son, these grapes and figs which are with you, the present time is not their season. Look, my son—and you are a holy man of God—look at the trees,<sup>9</sup> how they are at this time of year, and know that this is not the time for grapes and other fruits.

<sup>1</sup> In M. "and he went to him and said to him "Father, is this the town of Jerusalem ?"

<sup>2</sup> Read, *innama ana* in P. for *anakama*.

<sup>3</sup> P. names here the master *Hermis* and distinguishes him from King Zedekiah whose servant Ebedmelech was. See above, p. 371.

<sup>4</sup> Read *na'astu* in P.

<sup>5</sup> M. "the darkness of the night."

<sup>6</sup> P. "the firmament."

<sup>7</sup> P. omits the name.

<sup>8</sup> P. omits.

<sup>9</sup> M. has here *asjār* the vulgar Arabic for *ashjār* (a *sin* instead of a *shin*).



This month is the month of April,<sup>1</sup> and this day is the first day in which the prophet Jeremiah reached Jerusalem, after a stay of seventy years in captivity. The words that you have uttered square with one another. Lo, the people are coming now and with them branches of palm-trees,<sup>2</sup> and holding in their hands twigs of aromatic bushes and olive-trees."

Then Abimelech saw the prophet Jeremiah riding the horse of the king and shining like the sun, and he hastened to him and bowed down before him. When Jeremiah saw him he dismounted from his horse, embraced him, cried aloud to him and said: "Be welcome, be welcome, O my beloved Abimelech! Look at the honour that God bestowed on you. He does this to anyone who is merciful and charitable to his fellow-creatures. You had pity on me in the day of my tribulations, and the Lord has overshadowed you with His holy arm and placed you in a refreshing sleep till you saw Jerusalem reconstructed and glorified for the second time. You have not tasted of the food of subjection,<sup>3</sup> nor have you borne the yoke of King Nebuchadnezzar during the last seventy years which we spent in captivity and persecution. God spared you this great hardship because of your charitable deeds. Let all those who hear your story do acts of charity and mercy with everybody,<sup>4</sup> and God will spare them all trouble."<sup>5</sup>

When Jeremiah finished his address to him, they all entered the town together. And Abimelech did not cease to be held in honour by the prophet Jeremiah and by the rest of the people<sup>6</sup> all the time of his life. When the prophet Jeremiah entered the town he glorified God with this canticle:

<sup>1</sup> M. *Nīsān* (the Syriac and Hebrew month), but P. *Barmūdah*, which seems to prove the Egyptian origin of the MS. from which the prototype of P. was derived. *Barmūdah* extends from March 27th to April 25th.

<sup>2</sup> In Arabic *Kulūb an-nakhl* "the pith of palm-trees." The same expression is used in the Arabic Diatessaron of Ibn at-Tayib published by Ciasca (p. 149) to express John xii. 13. I believe that the word emanates from the Peshitta Old Testament (Lev. xxiii. 40) in which the Syriac words are exactly *libbarwātha d-dhiklé*. The Arabic expression seems to be a literal translation of the Syriac. See further *Bulletin of the Bezan Club*, No. iii. pp. 14-17, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> P. "death and troubles."

<sup>6</sup> M. omits this sentence.

<sup>4</sup> Read *aḥadin* in P.

<sup>6</sup> P. omits this sentence.

"Rejoice, O Jerusalem !<sup>1</sup> Arise and wear thy diadem. Thy sons had gone out of thee with tears and sadness, and have now come to thee in joy and jubilation. Let heaven rejoice and earth jubilate over the children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who have returned to their land. Let our fathers<sup>2</sup> take their harps in their hands, and sing before the Lord, because God has brought back again their children who had been carried into captivity in which they had almost perished ; Let Cherubim<sup>3</sup> and Seraphim sing and praise with us over the sons of Abraham, and let them rejoice over the children of Israel who have returned again to their land and their country."

When Jeremiah entered the door of the Temple, he said to the door-post : "To thee I say, O<sup>4</sup> threshold of the house of God, bring out the keys which<sup>5</sup> I had confided to thee." And it immediately brought out the keys and delivered them to the prophet Jeremiah. And he opened the door of the Temple and he went into it with all the people, and they worshipped before the Lord. And he entered the Holy of Holies where he saw the lamp burning as if it was fresh, and its light was shining, in the way in which he had left it, without diminution. It was with it that he had searched Jerusalem to discover if there was in it a man in whom there was mercy, and he did not find any. All of them worshipped God saying : "Holy, holy, holy ! Thou art, O Lord, a just Lord, in all Thy actions,<sup>6</sup> and Thou hast done everything with wisdom. Thou didst with us all this in order to punish us in the measure of our sins, and Thou hast requited us in proportion with our iniquities."

The prophet Jeremiah called the sons of Aaron and said to them : "Arise now and offer sacrifices to the Lord, and be pure according to the prescriptions of your priesthood."<sup>7</sup> And he also went up to the terrace of the house of the Lord, and he stood on the corner-stone, and said : "To thee I say, O stone, Open thy mouth and bring out thy trust : the garment of the High Priest, because we are in need of

<sup>1</sup> M. "Arise, arise."

<sup>2</sup> P. "Let our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob take their harps."

<sup>3</sup> The first letter of the word "Cherubim" is a *shin* instead of a *kaf* in P. This also denotes the Egyptian (Coptic) origin of the prototype of P.

<sup>4</sup> Read *aiyyatuha* in P.

<sup>5</sup> Read *al-lati*.

<sup>6</sup> M. "Thou art holy, O lord and just in all Thy actions."

<sup>7</sup> Read *kahnūtikum*.

it." And it brought out the garment, and Jeremiah handed it to the High Priest. And after that he went out before the sun, and said to it: "To thee, I say, O sun, the great luminary of heaven, bring out the mitre<sup>1</sup> which I confided to thee and on which is the name of the Lord, the Holy One, because the Lord had mercy on His people, and we are in need of it for the service of the altar." Then the prophet Jeremiah stretched his hand towards the rays of the sun and the mitre came down from it,<sup>2</sup> and he handed it to the High Priest. And he handed also to the High Priest the rest of the vestments of the house of the Lord which<sup>3</sup> he had taken with him to Babylon.

[And the head of the priests who came with them from captivity wore the priestly robe, the garment and the mitre on which was written the name of the Lord, and the prophet Jeremiah put on the garment of the prophetic office—which God had ordered him to remove from him when he went into captivity and place in the Temple until his return from the deportation to Babylon—and approached the sanctuary of the Lord. The latter was filled with the glory of God, which spread over all the Temple and the people, and the glory of the Lord increased upon them with His mercy. And the God of Israel dwelt among them with the Cherubim<sup>4</sup> and Seraphim].<sup>5</sup> As to the sons of Aaron they performed their duty, each one according to his own rank and order, and shouted with their horns,<sup>6</sup> and offered sacrifices,<sup>7</sup> and the glory of the Lord descended and filled all the house. And the fire came down from heaven and consumed the holocaust. All the people observed as a feast the twenty-fifth day of April<sup>8</sup> and glorified the Lord with great joy."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here as above (p. 377) it is very difficult to ascertain what was in the author's mind in using such terms as *tailasān*, *kalansuah*, *izār*, *mandil*, and *rida'*.

<sup>2</sup> M. "And Jeremiah spread his mantle and the mitre fell in it."

<sup>3</sup> Read *al-lati*.

<sup>4</sup> Here again P. writes "Cherubim" with an initial *shīn*, which denotes an Egyptian origin.

<sup>5</sup> All this paragraph between brackets is missing in M.

<sup>6</sup> P. adds "and harps."

<sup>7</sup> In Arabic *hamalū* "they lifted" which denotes the Syriac *asseḡ* meaning "to lift" and "to offer sacrifice." (See above p. 384.)

<sup>8</sup> Here again M. has the Hebrew-Syriac *Nisān* and P. the Coptic *Barmūdah* which indicates its Egyptian origin.

<sup>9</sup> Mingana 240 ends here with the following colophon: "Glory, praise, honour, and worship be to the Lord of hosts for ever and ever, Amen! Here

[And the prophet Jeremiah worshipped before the Lord and said : " Blessed be the Lord, God of Israel, and blessed be His name for ever and ever. He remembered His holy covenant and His oath to our father Abraham that his seed will last for ever.<sup>1</sup> He looked from the heights of heaven upon His people and the heirs of His inheritance, He saw their grief and the sobbing of their hearts, delivered them with His mighty arm and powerful hand, and brought them back to His holy Temple. To Him be glory, honour, majesty, and power, because He is the God of Israel, who destroyed His enemies who turned their hearts away from His service, and sacrificed to the idol of Baal, and worshipped it instead of God, their Lord, and offered incense to gods made with hands, and offered the blood of infants to the stars of heaven and to demons, and impeded them from walking in the way of God, their Lord. For this reason God delivered them to their enemies in order that they may wreak vengeance upon them. They uprooted their memory from the earth, and destroyed their seed from among the children of Israel, His people."

[Then the prophet Jeremiah arose and turned<sup>2</sup> his face towards the people, and congratulated them on their safety and beautiful deliverance. He blessed them and made a covenant with them that they shall not relinquish the service of God, their Lord, and worship the idol of Baal for a second time. And they offered in that day numerous sacrifices, burnt-offerings, holocausts, and they rejoiced greatly in the house of the Lord, and thanked God immensely, and glorified His name, saying : " Blessed be the name of the Lord, God of Israel, who visited and delivered His people, and saved them from the hardships of the Chaldeans ; who took them out of Babylon and

ends the story of the children of Israel and glory be to the Lord of lords, and King of kings, for evermore, Amen ! And praise be to the Lord of the worlds, Amen ! Here ends the story of the deportation of the children of Israel from Jerusalem into Babylon. May God have pity on the weak scribe, on the reader and the pious hearers. Amen ! Amen ! Amen !"

I give in the lines above between brackets the translation of the end of the story in the Paris MS. This end seems to be a later addition and is much under the influence of the Gospel of St. Luke i. 67-73.

<sup>1</sup> There is much resemblance between these words and the hymn of Zacharias in Luke i. 67, 72-73.

<sup>2</sup> Read : *amāla*.

brought them to His land and His inheritance, which He granted to them ; who returned to them their kingdom, prophecy, and priesthood ; who did not allow His wrath to dwell with them for ever, but had pity on them and delivered them."

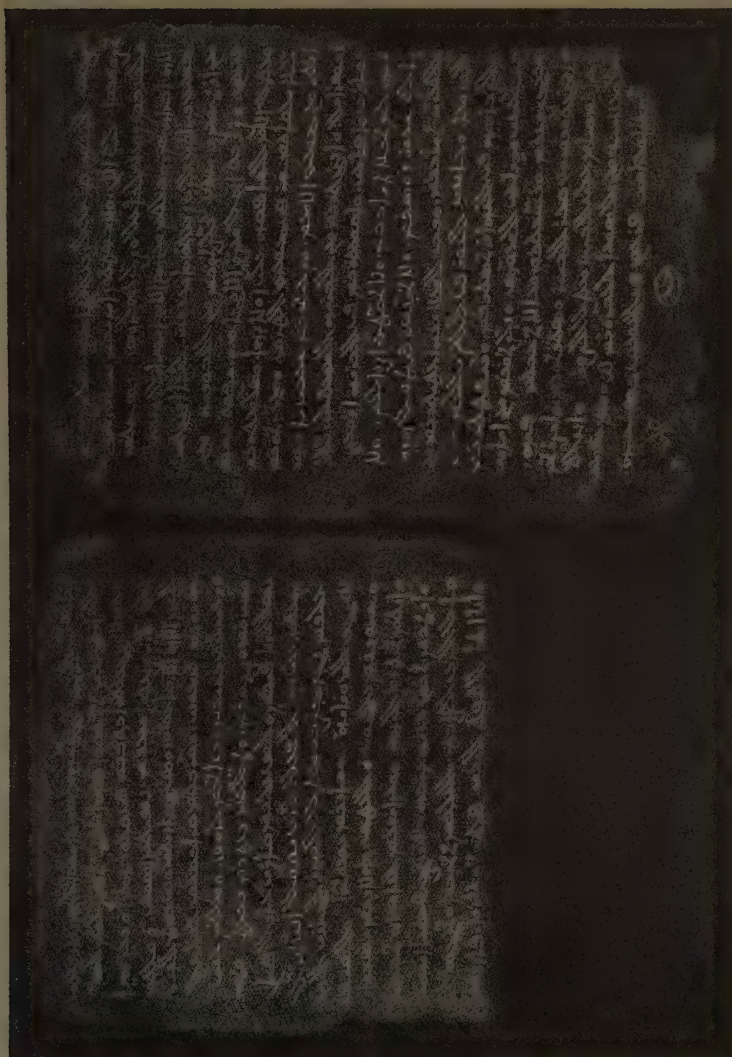
[And the people did not cease to serve God with a good and perfect service, and with offerings and sacrifices, in all the lifetime of the prophet Jeremiah. And glory, praise, and thanks be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, Amen !

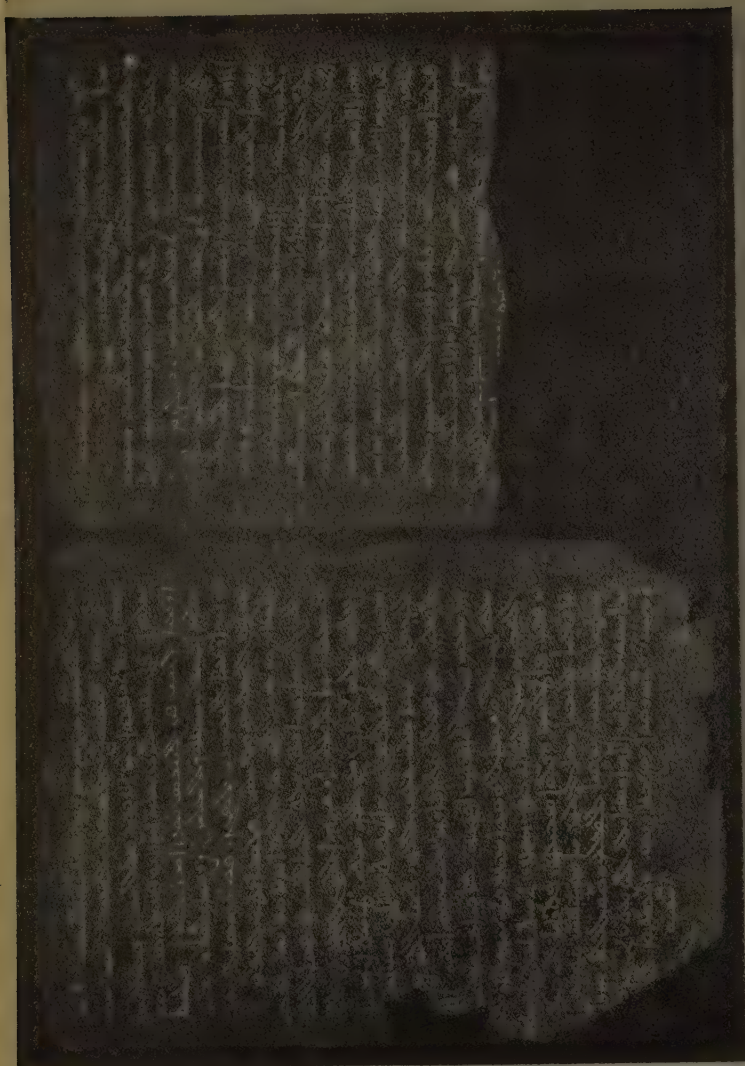
[Here ends, by the assistance of the Holy Trinity, this great story of the deportation of the children of Israel into Babylon. Remember, O Lord, Thy sinning servant, Cyriacus,<sup>1</sup> who is unworthy of the name of man, because of the great number of his sins. He copied this from a bad MS., and he who finds in it a mistake and corrects it, God will forgive him his sins, because its scribe is the weakest, the most imperfect, and the lowliest of all the (men) of the world.]

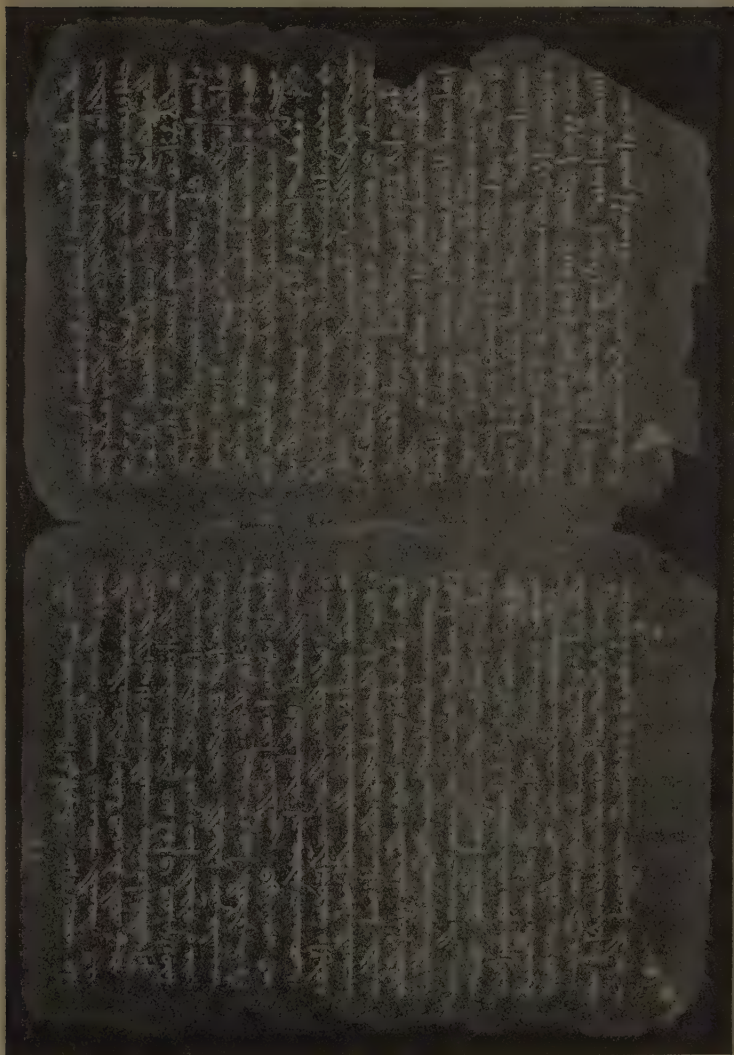
<sup>1</sup> The copyist.









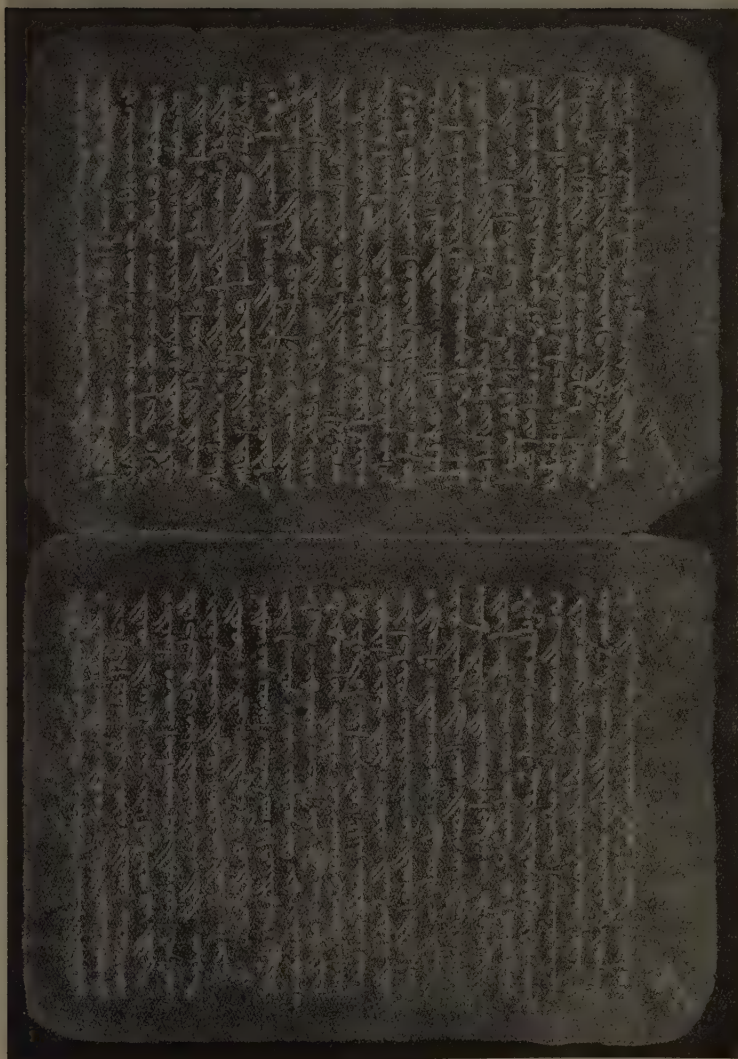


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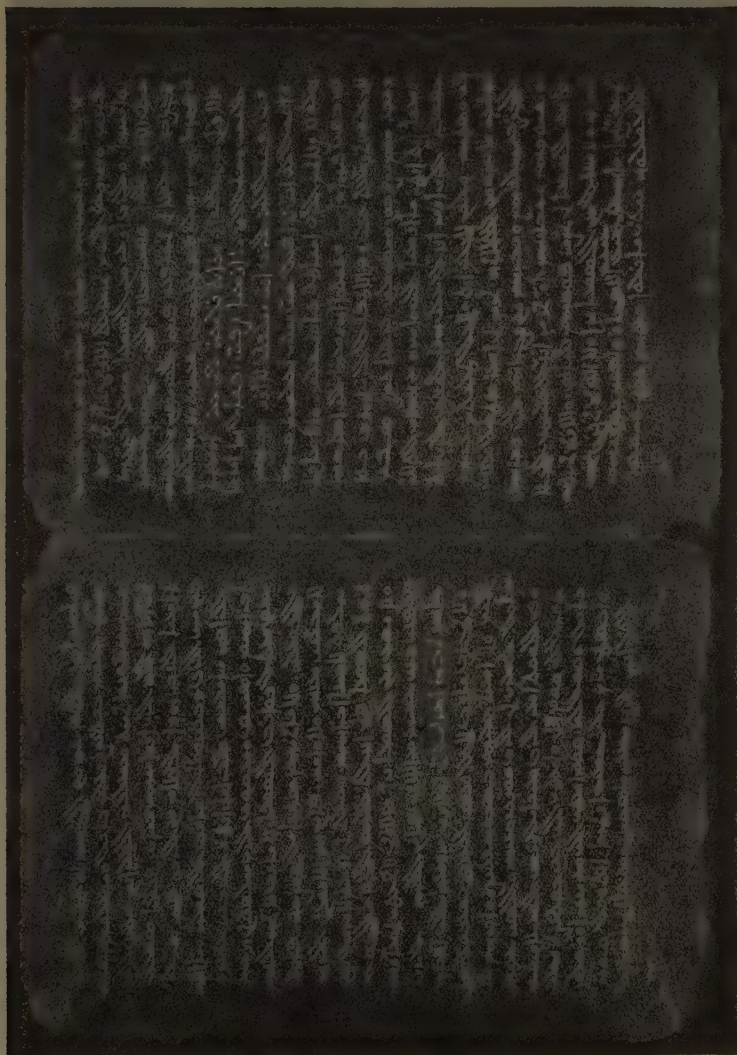


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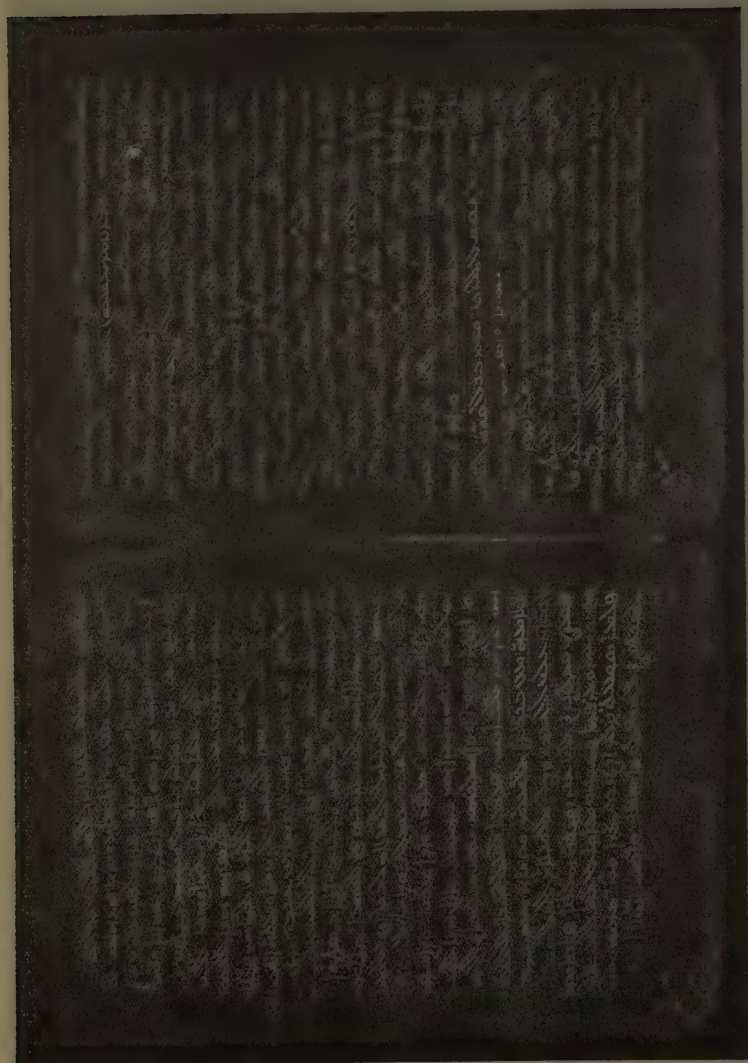


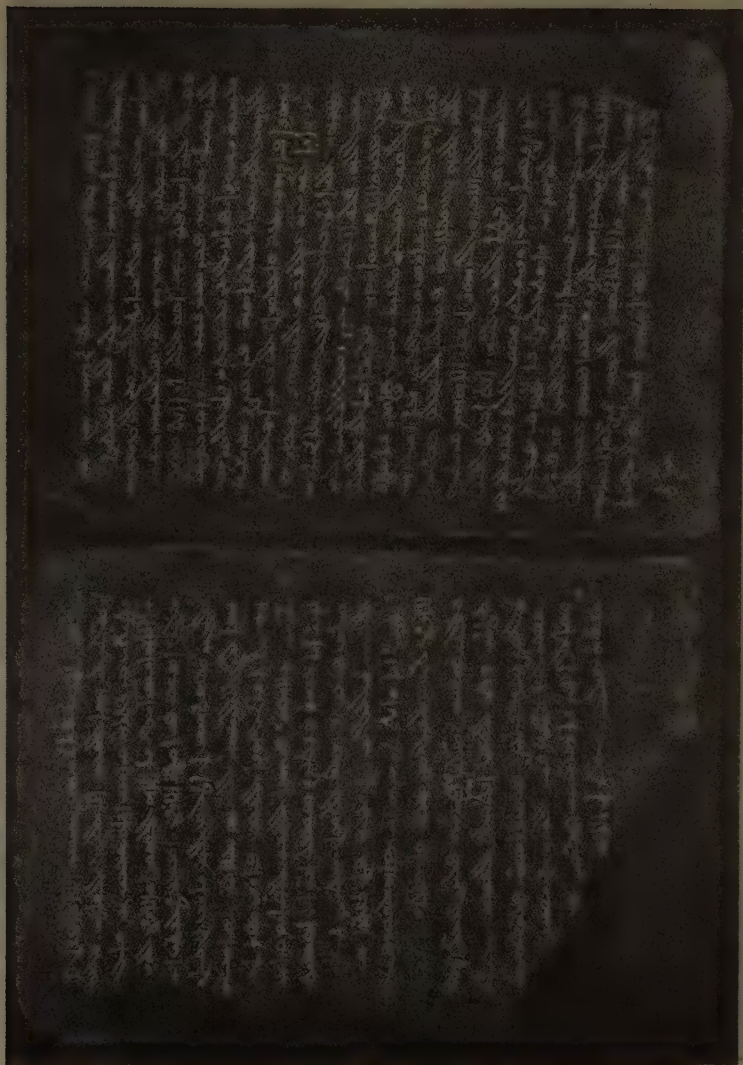




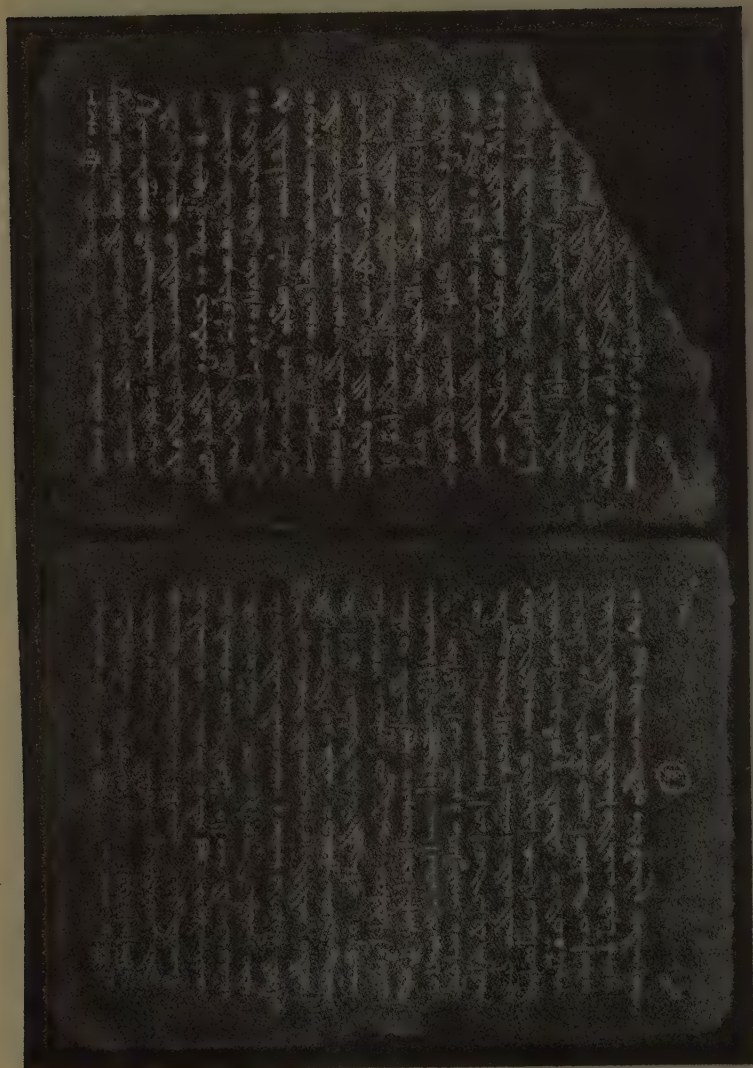
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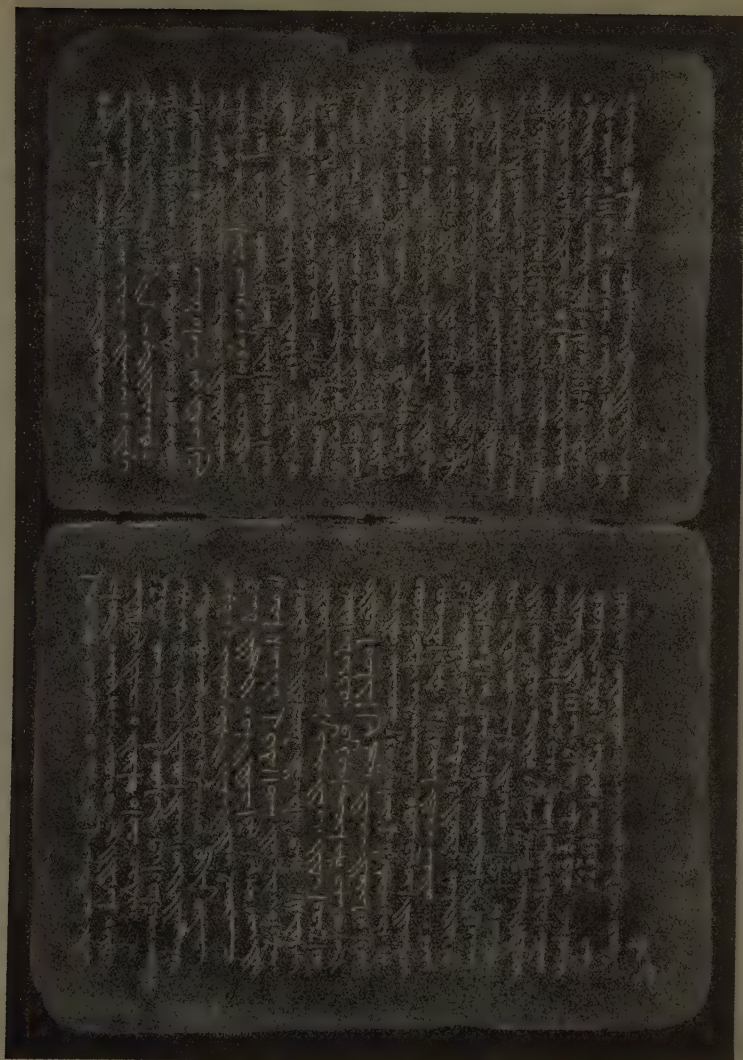


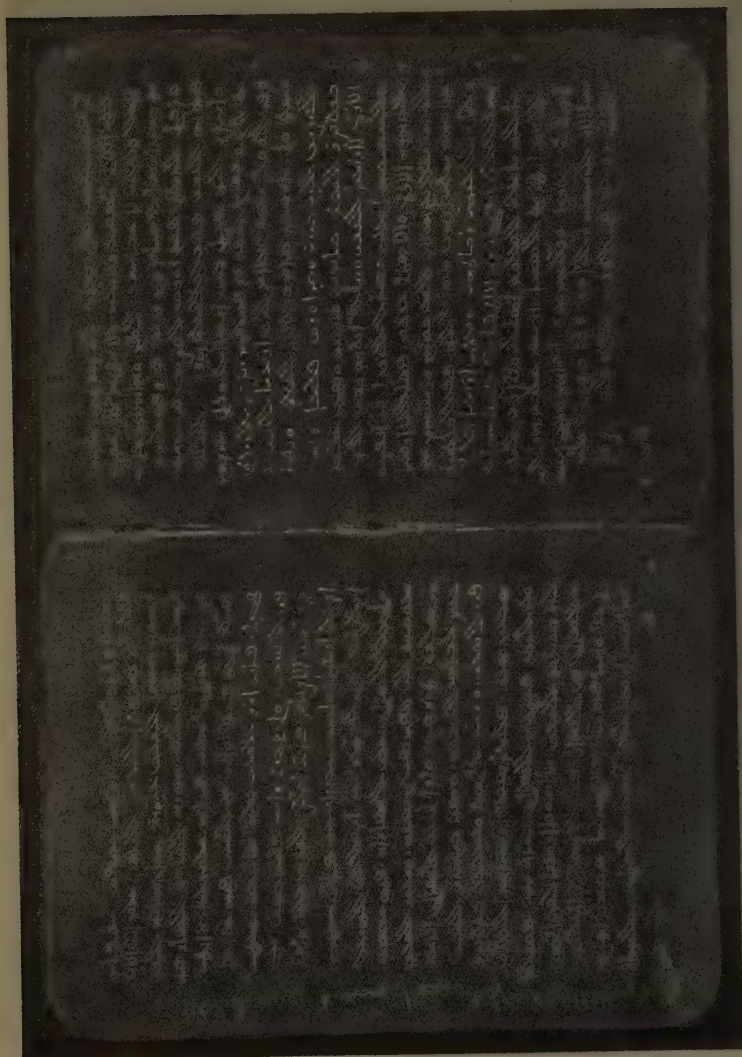




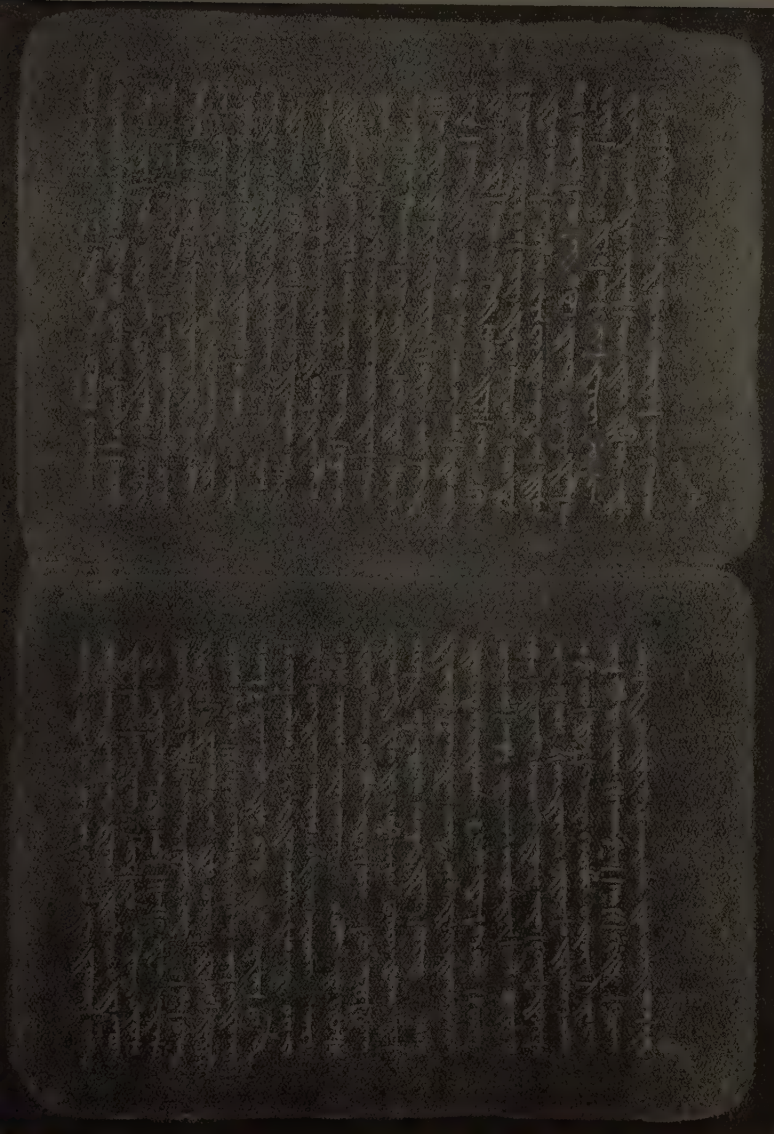


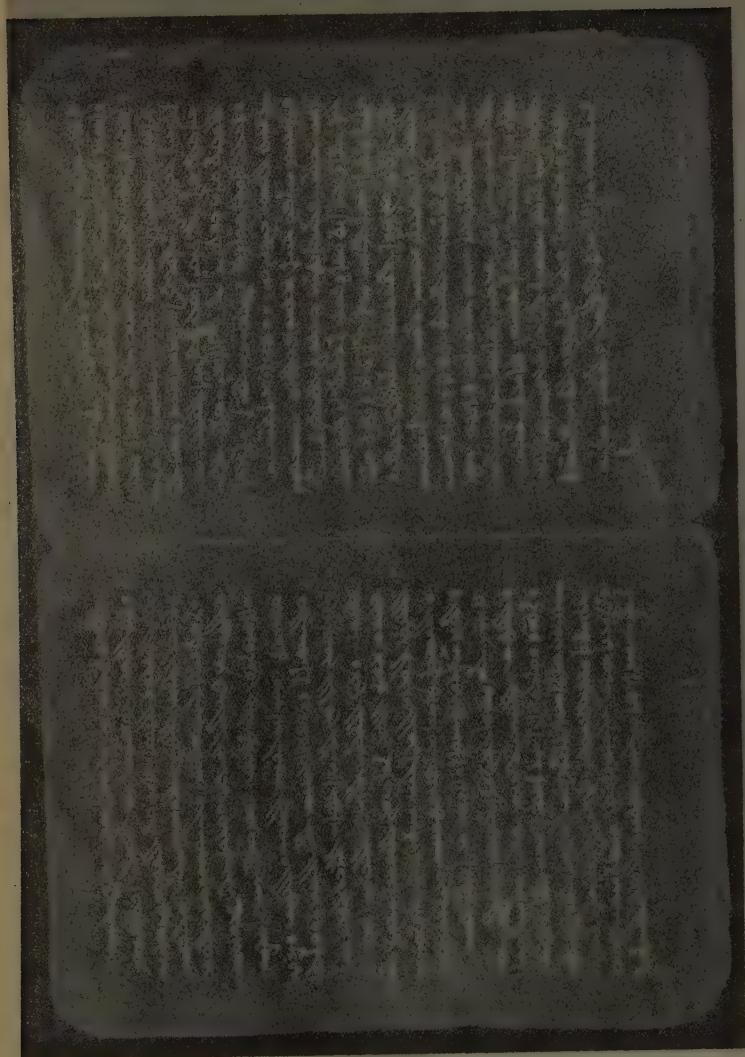
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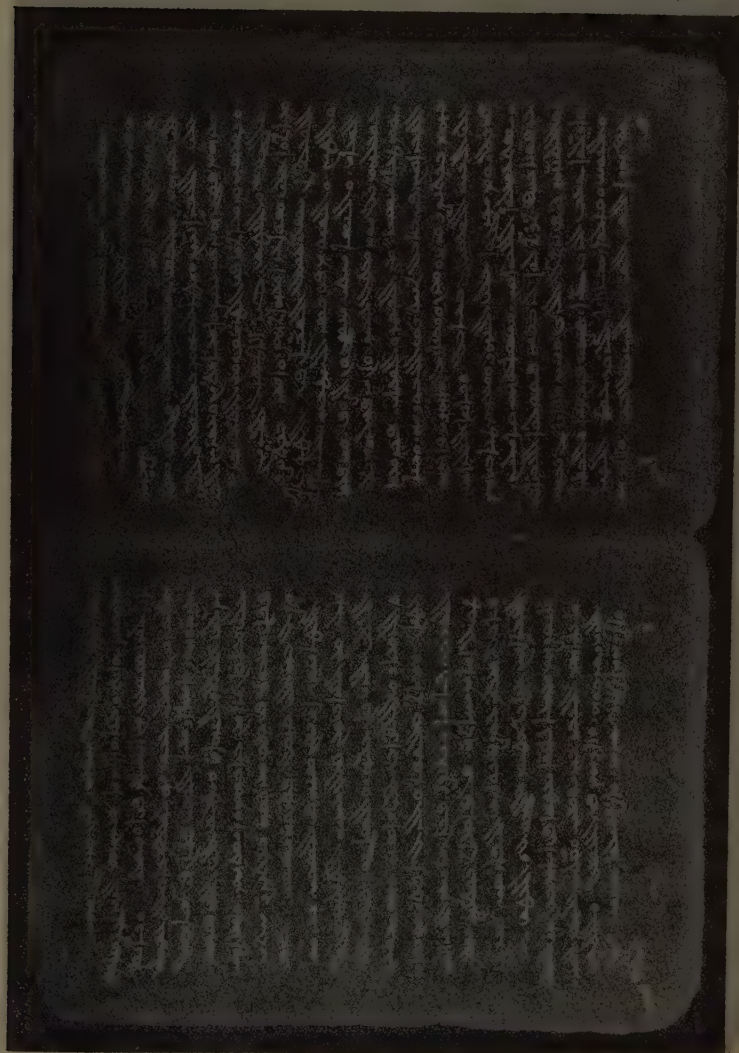




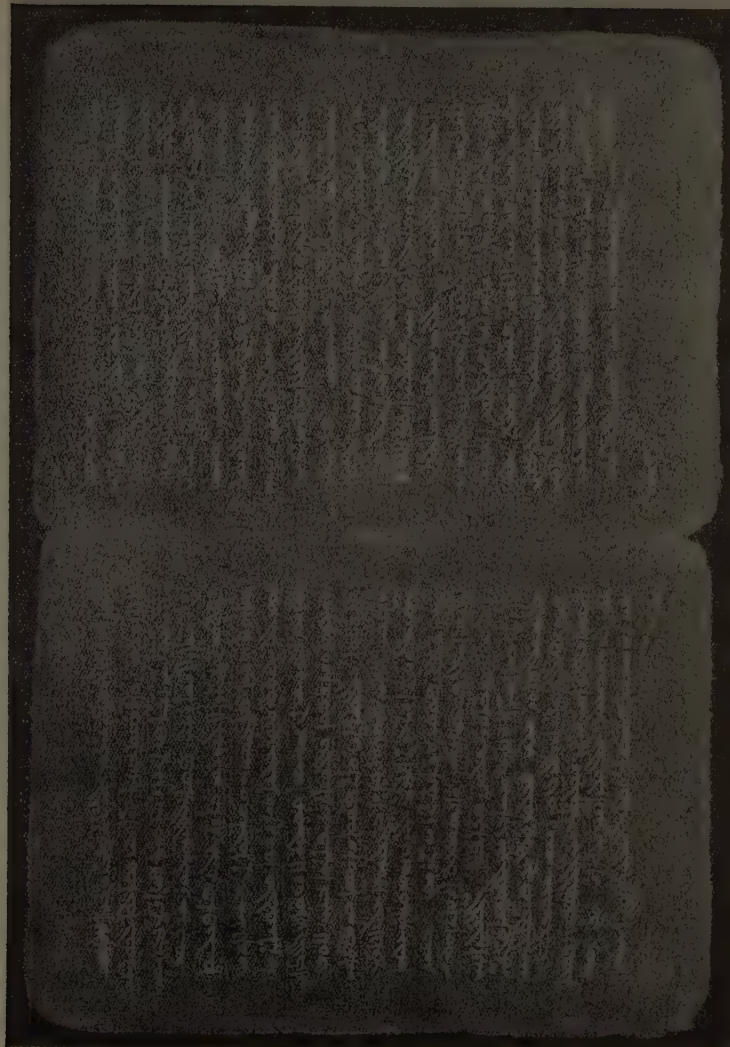




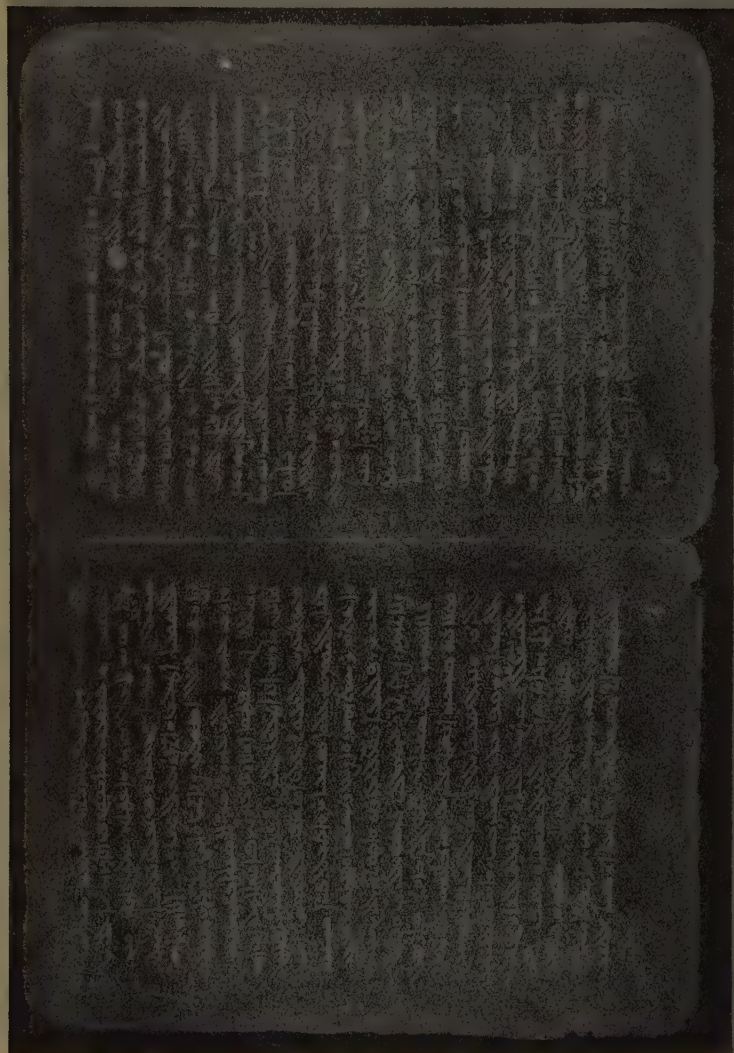










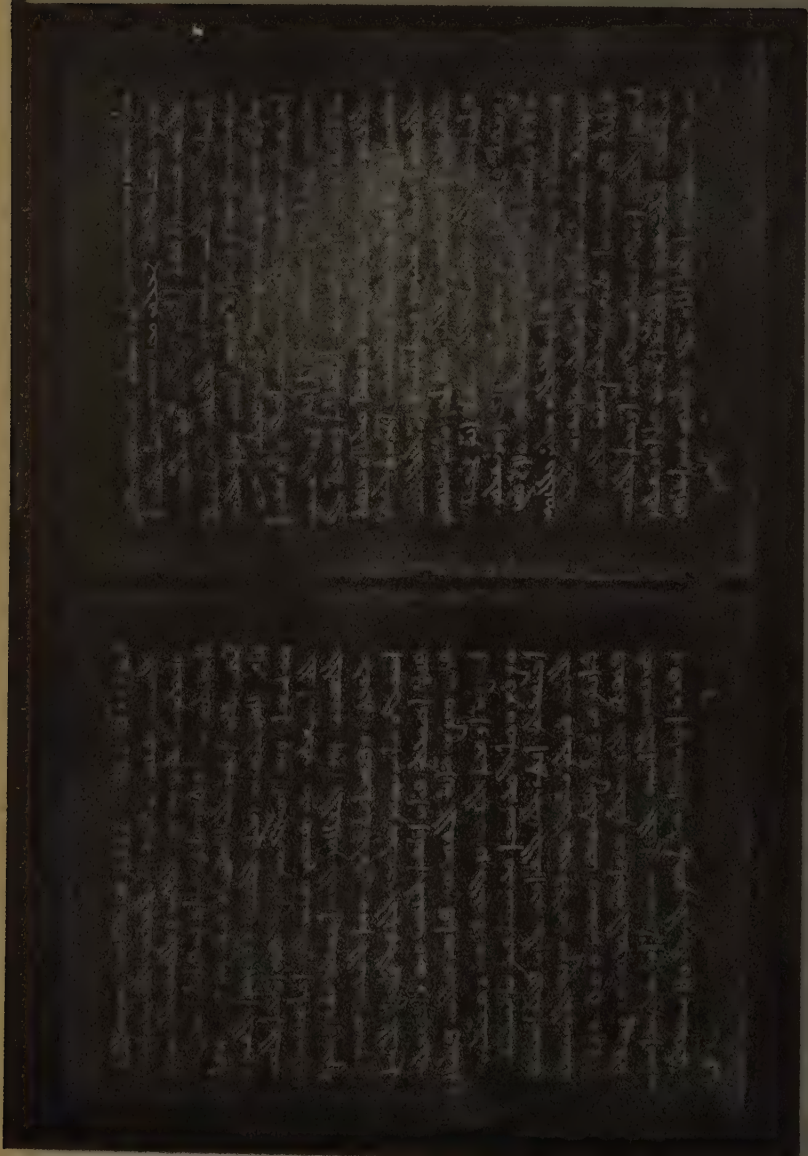




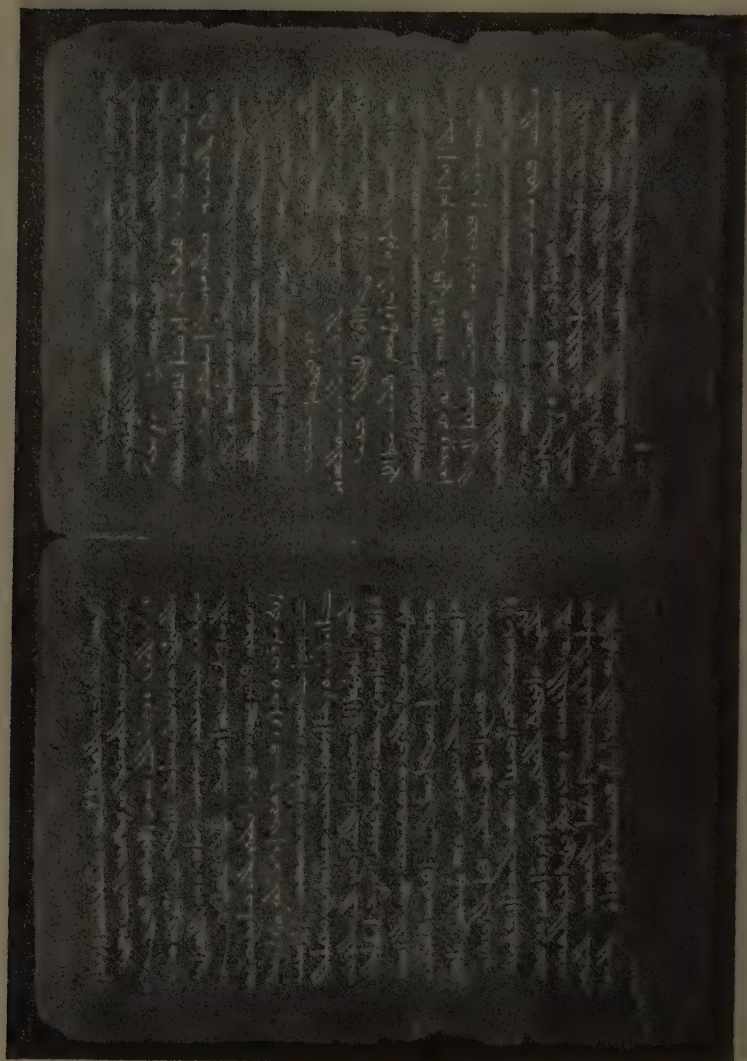




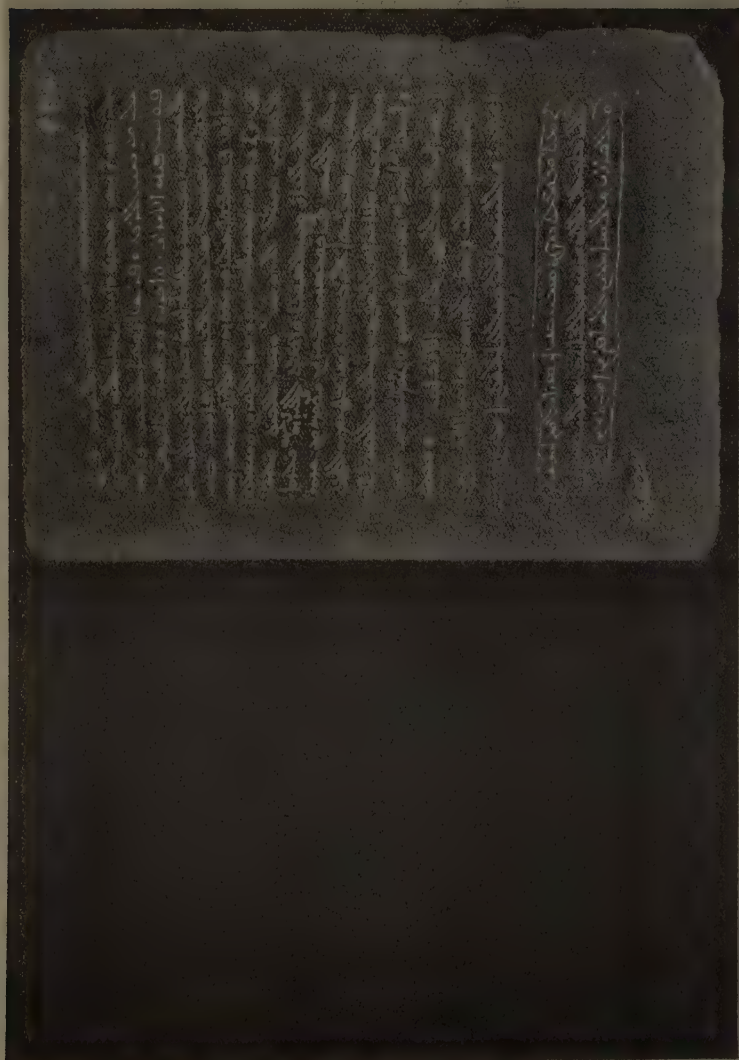




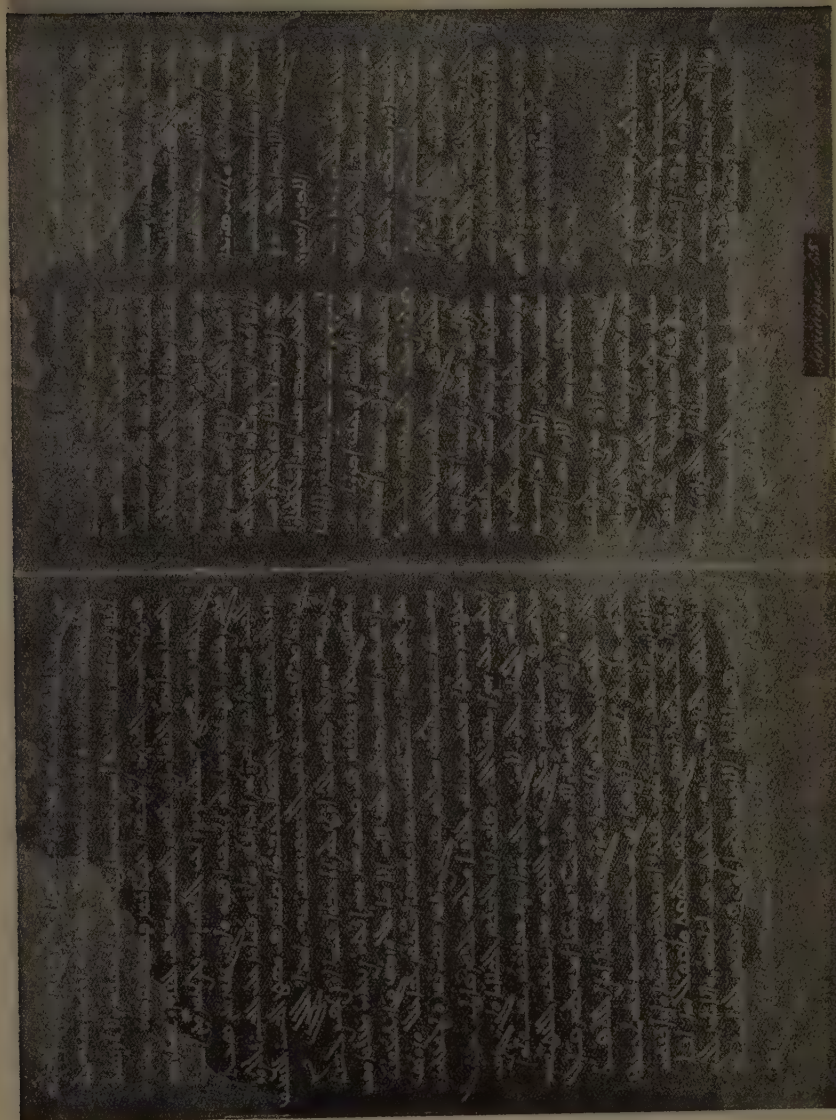
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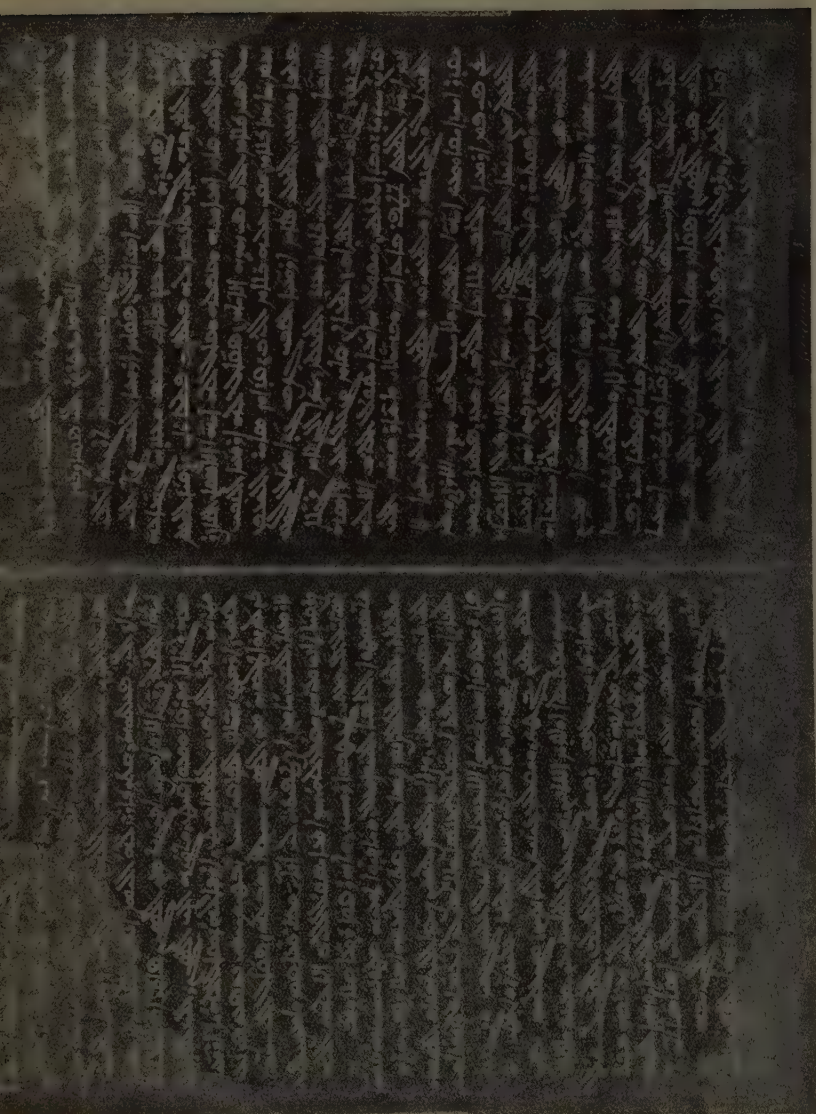




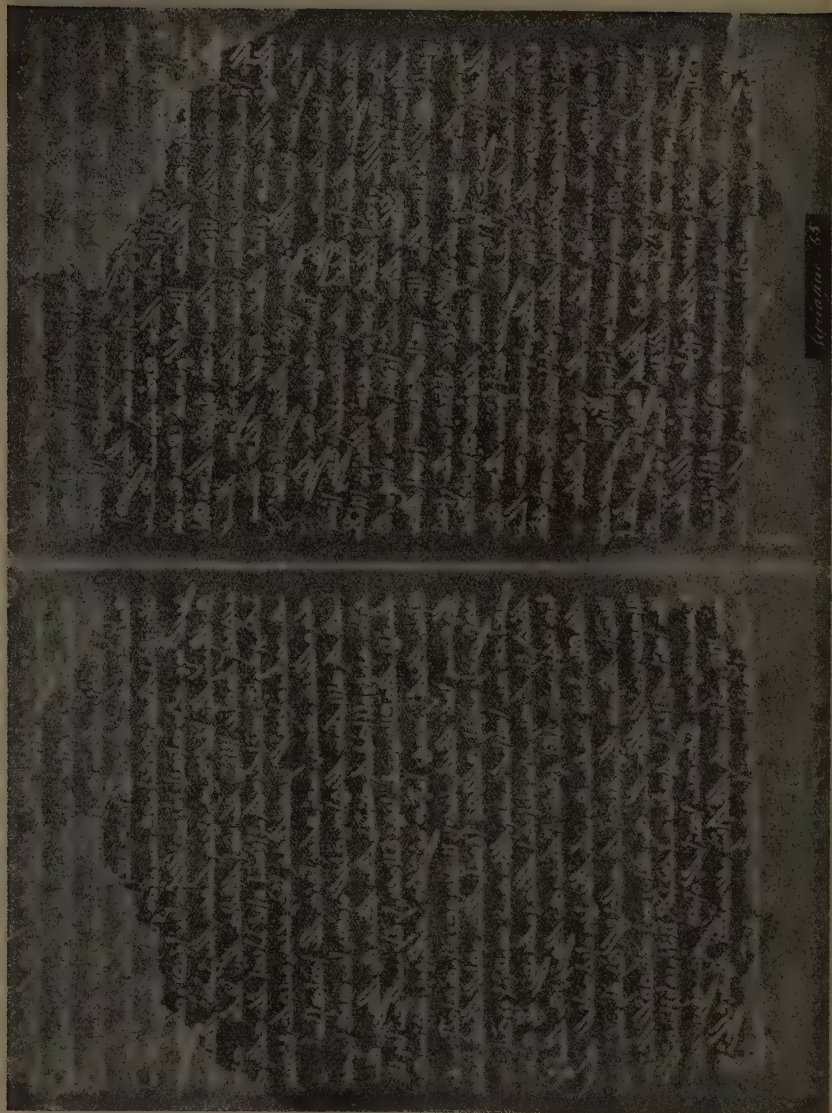


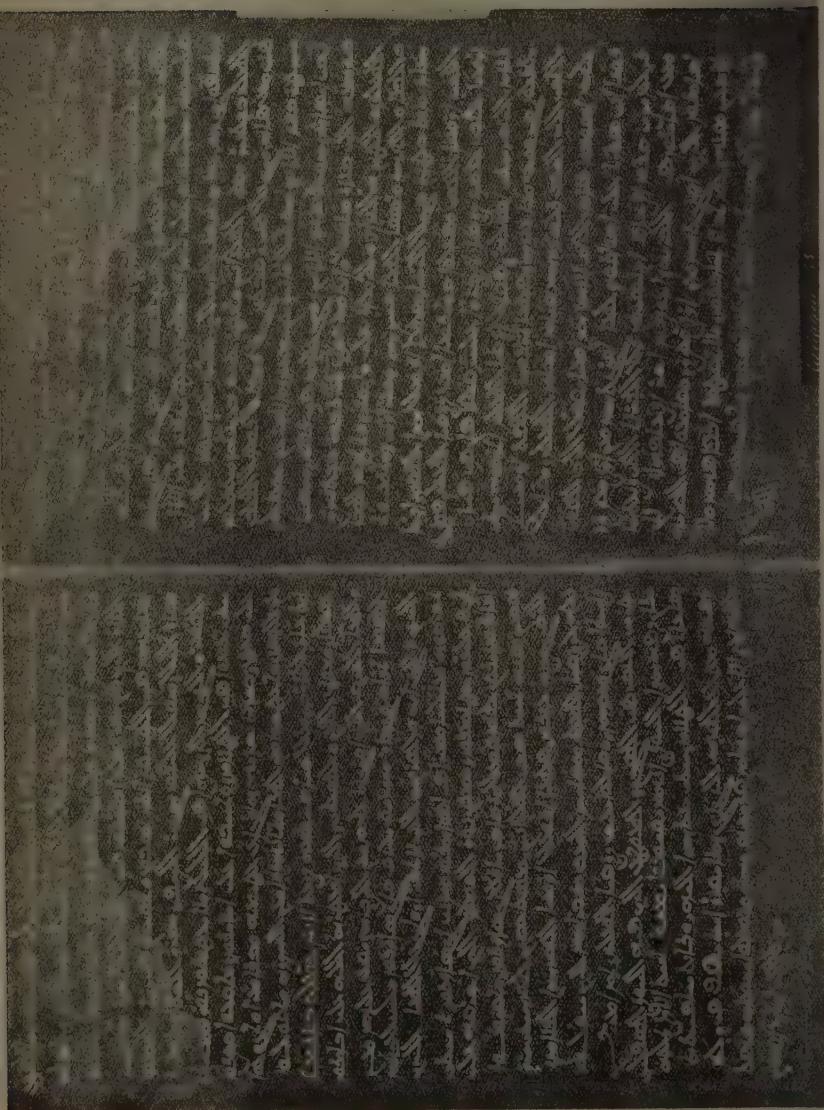




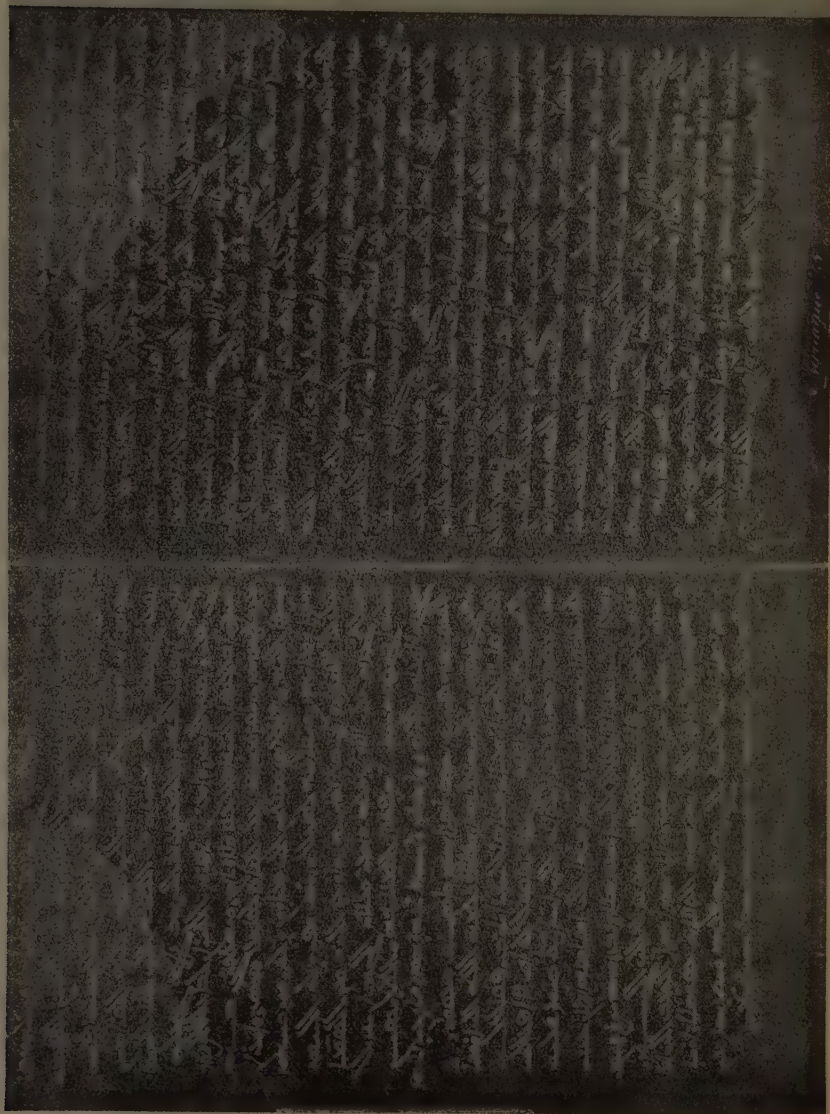




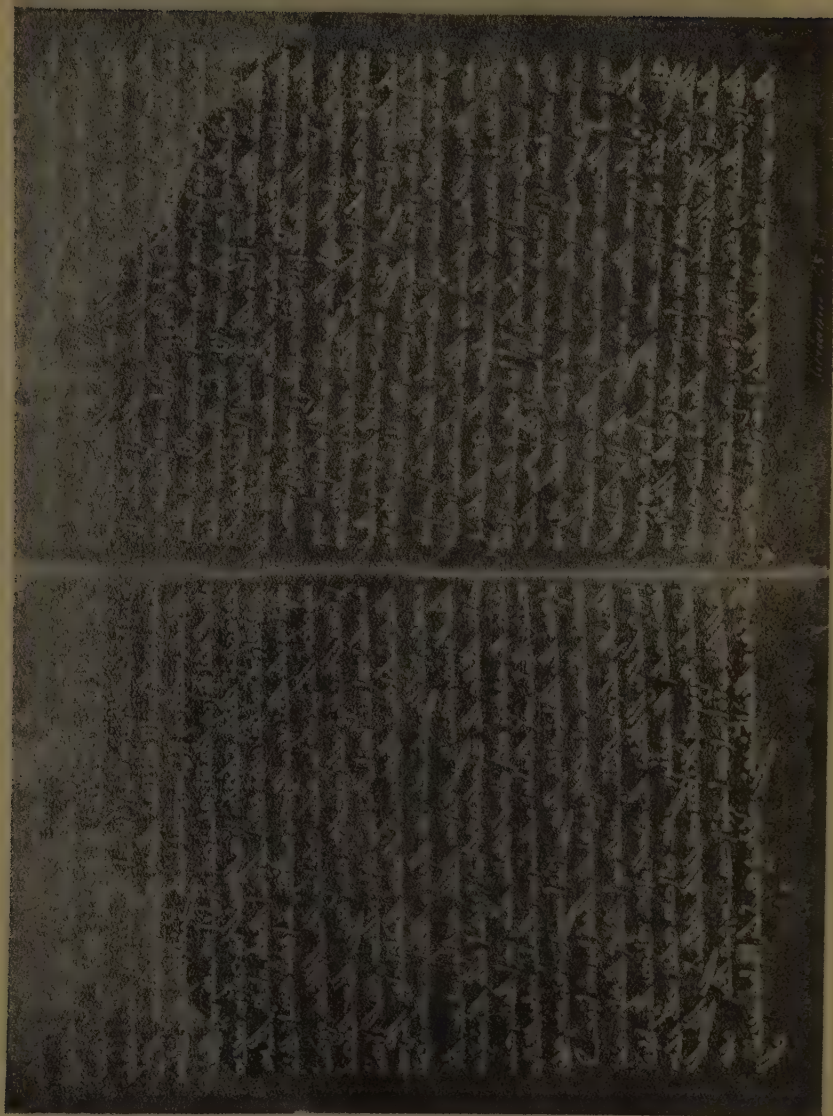




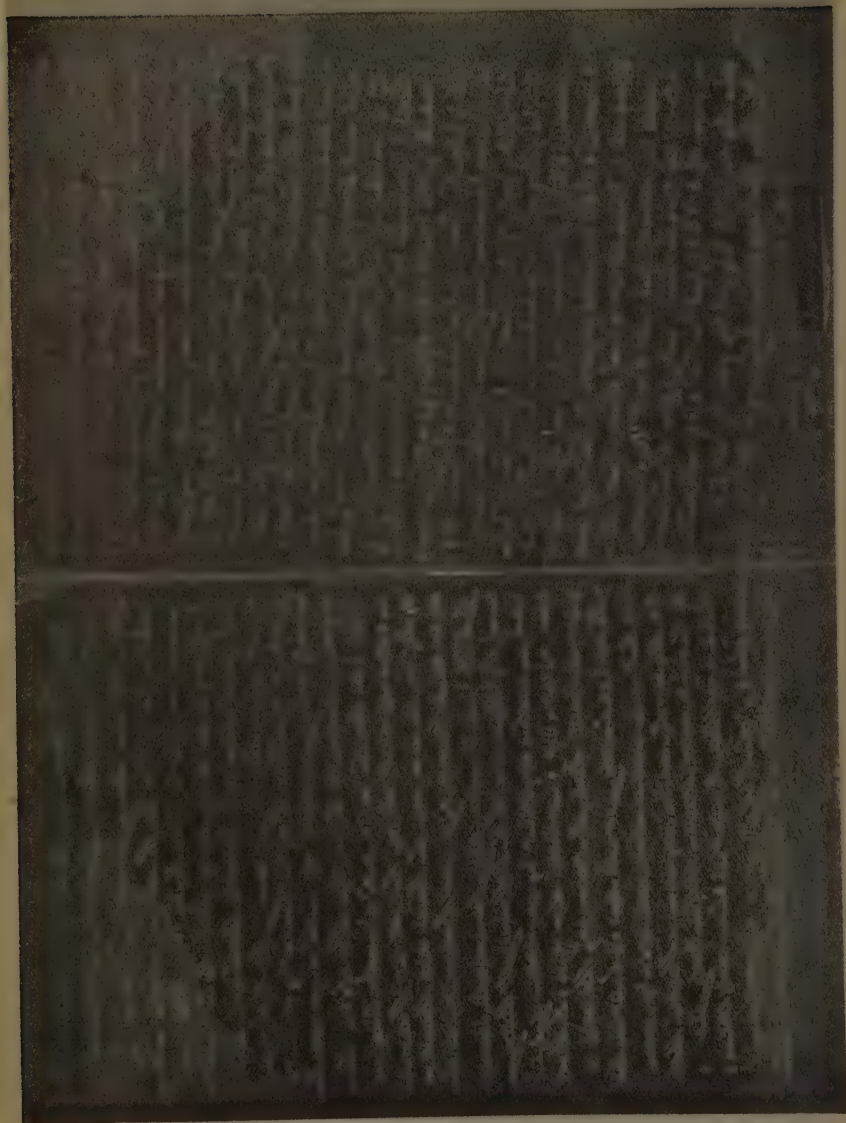




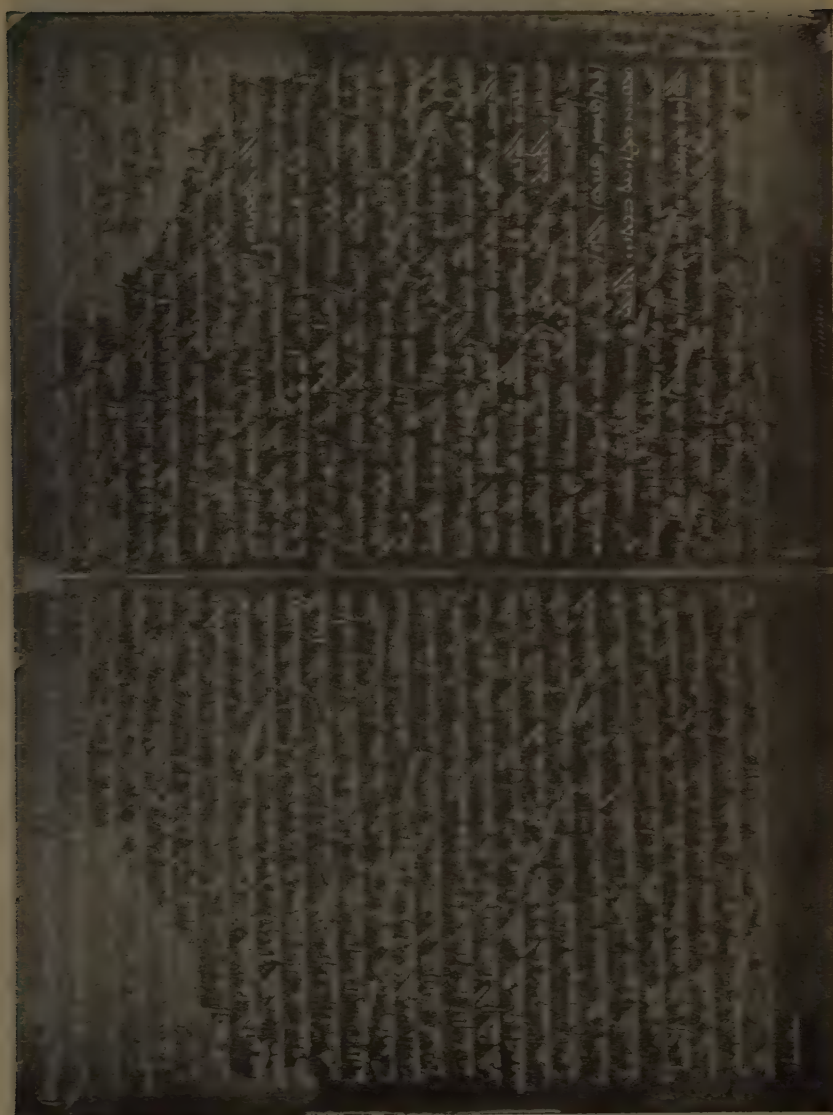


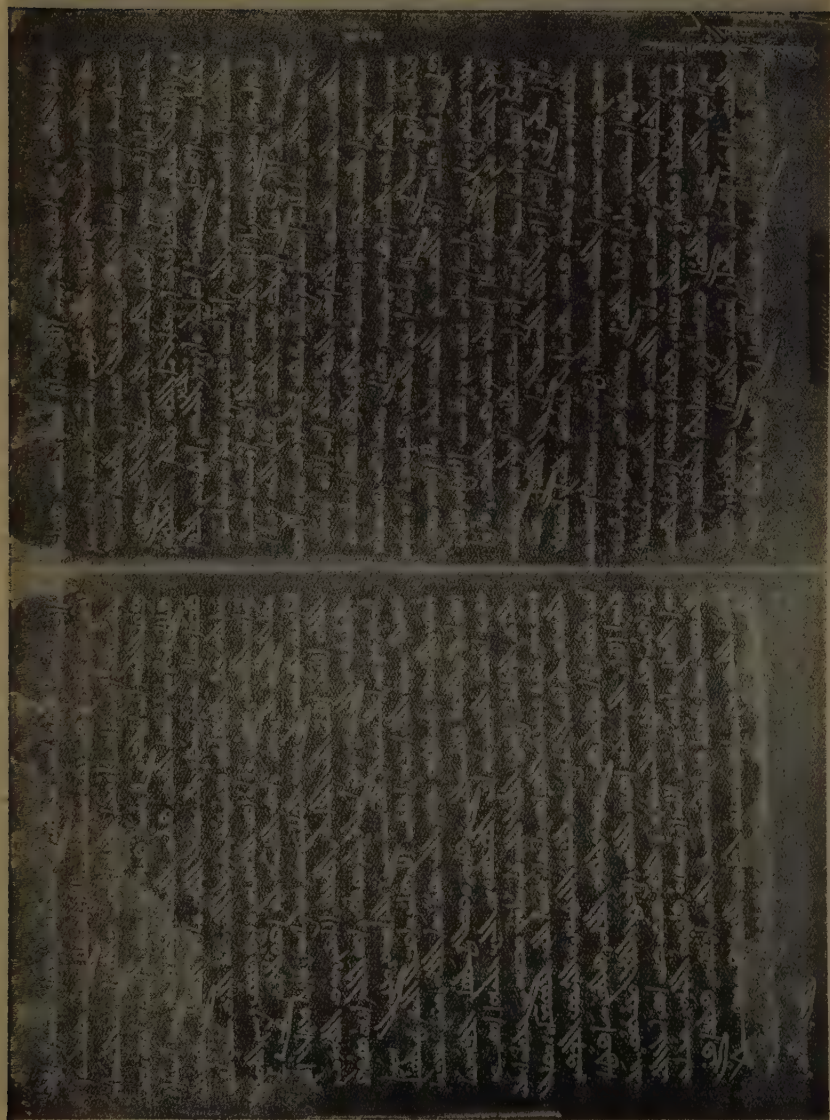


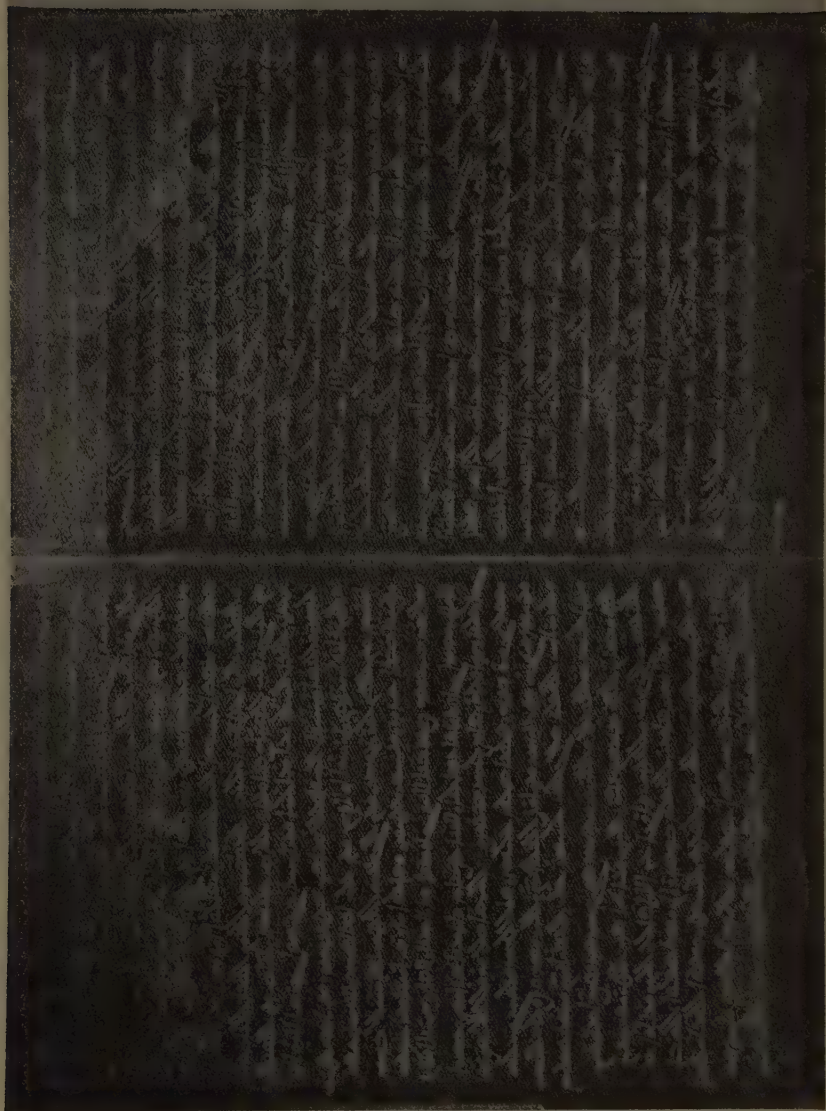




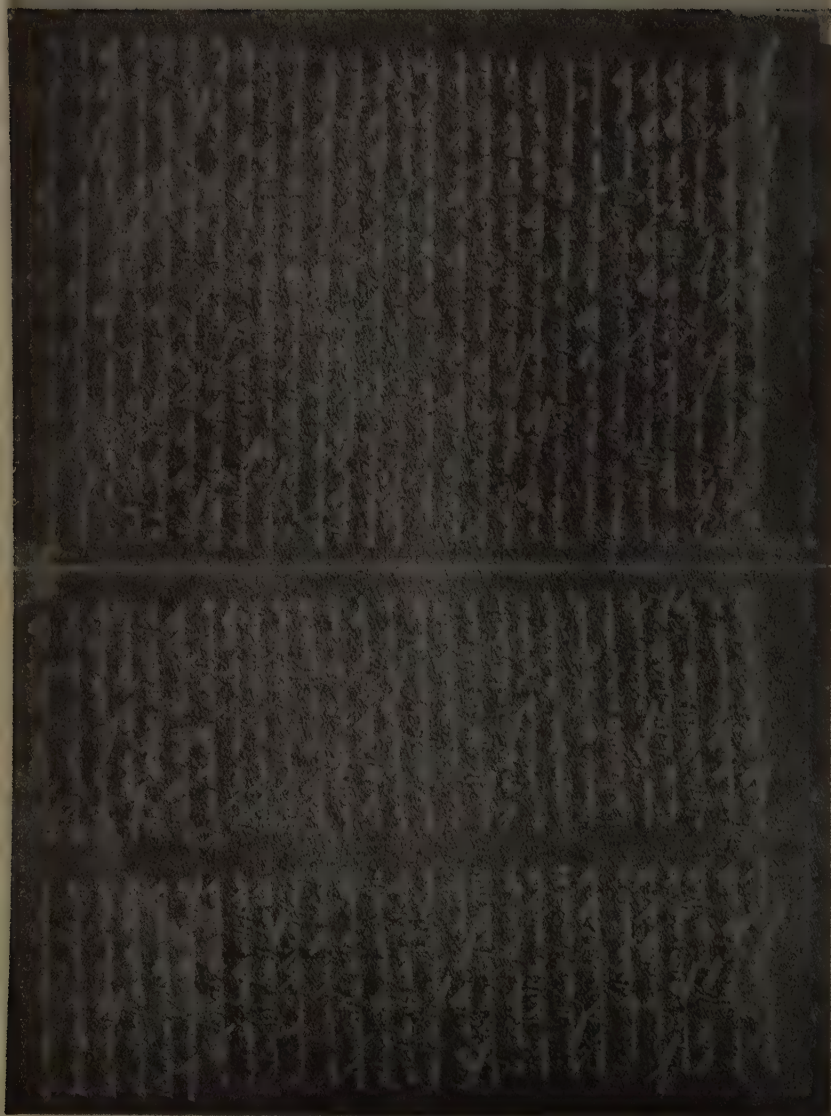




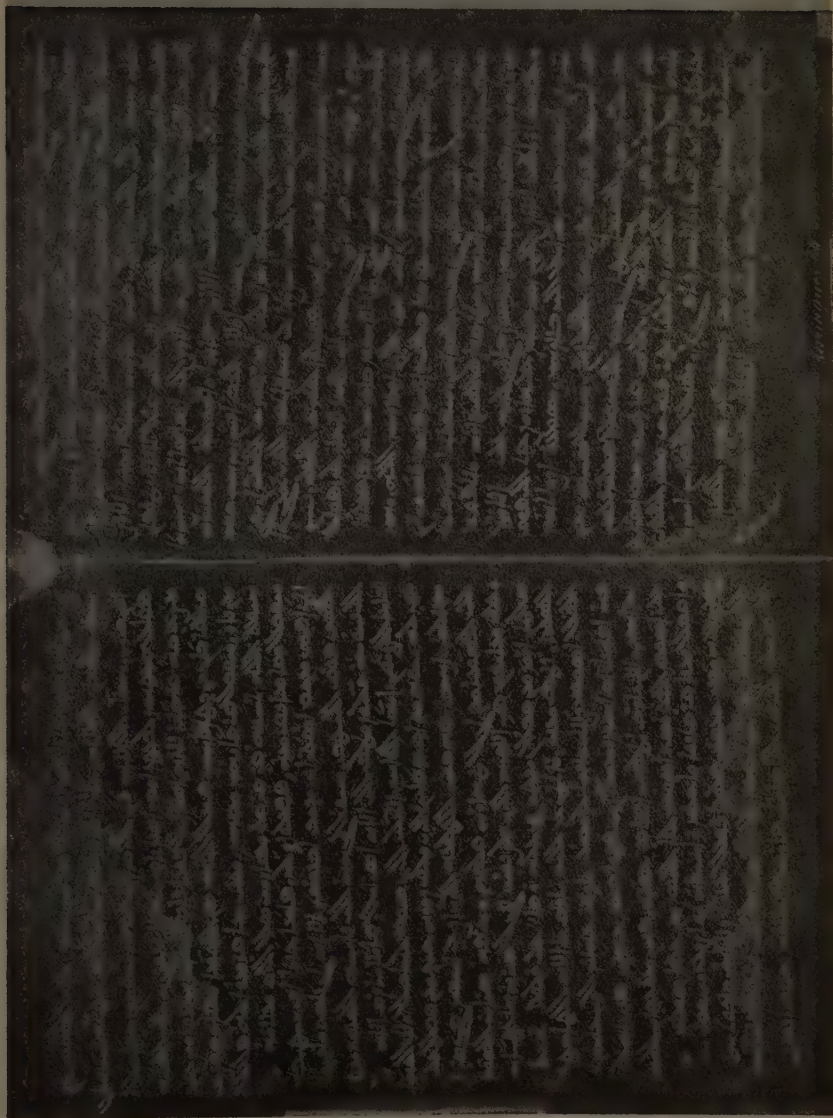


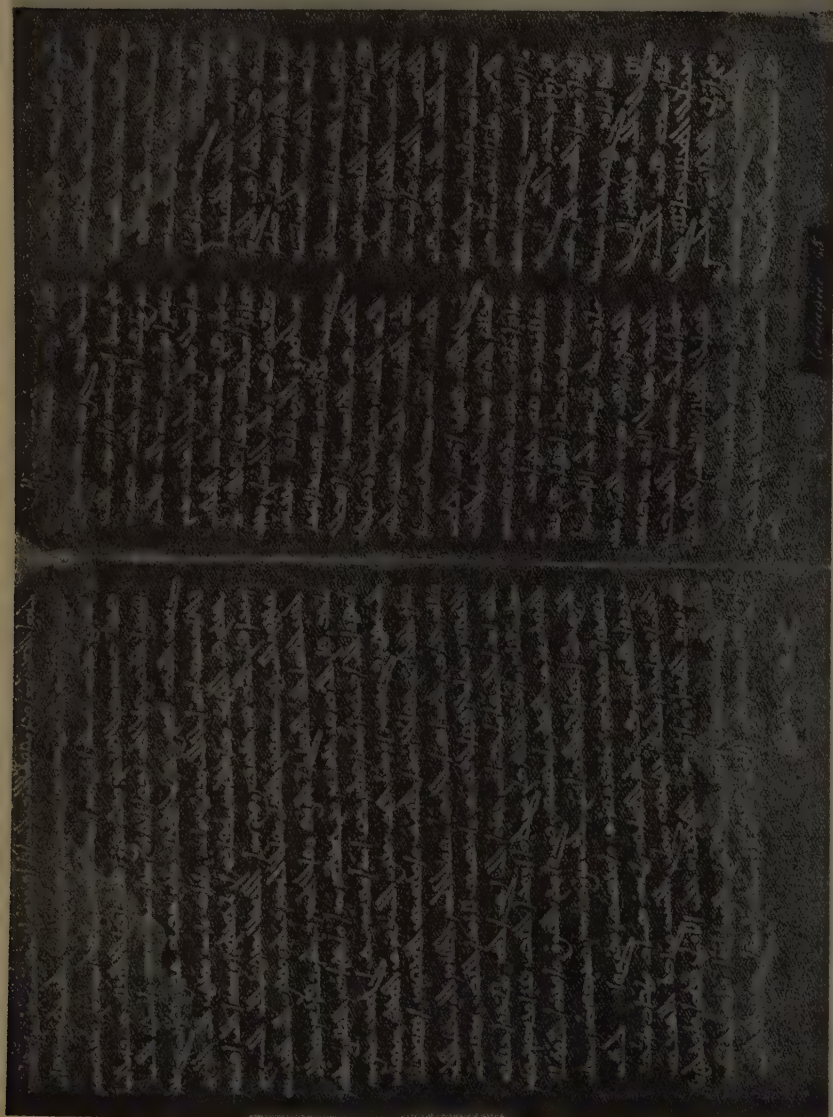


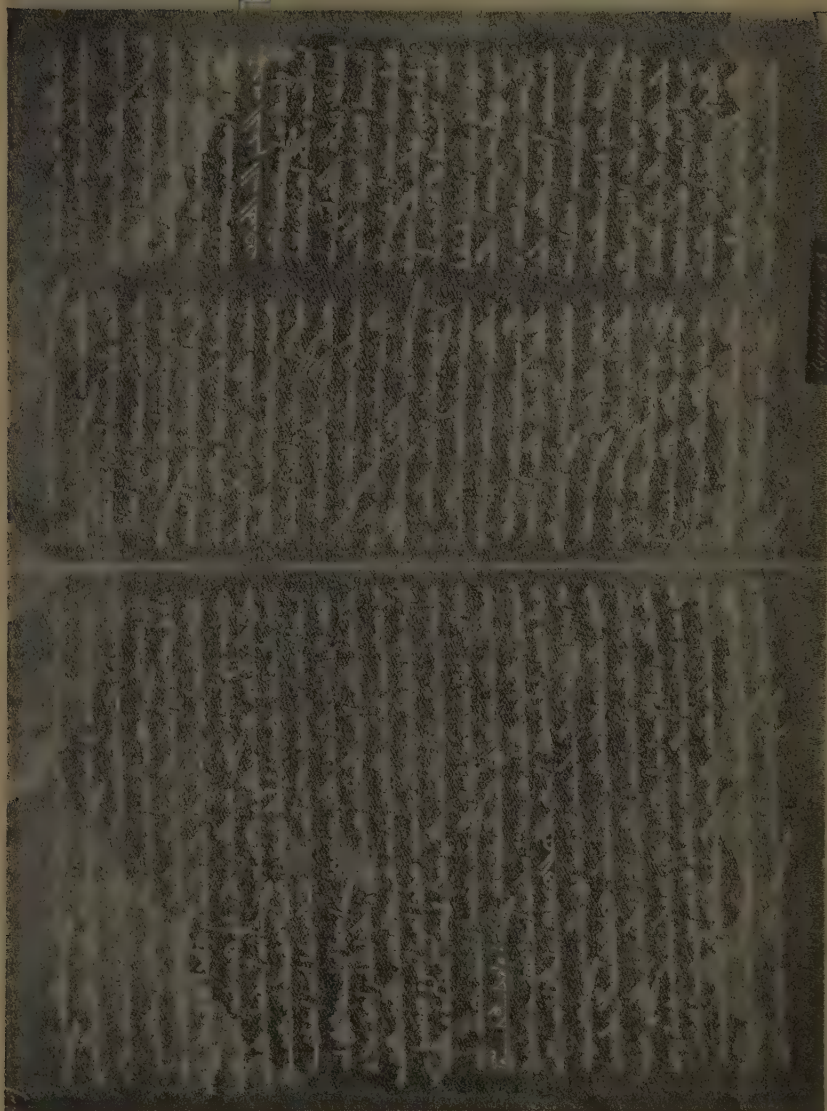




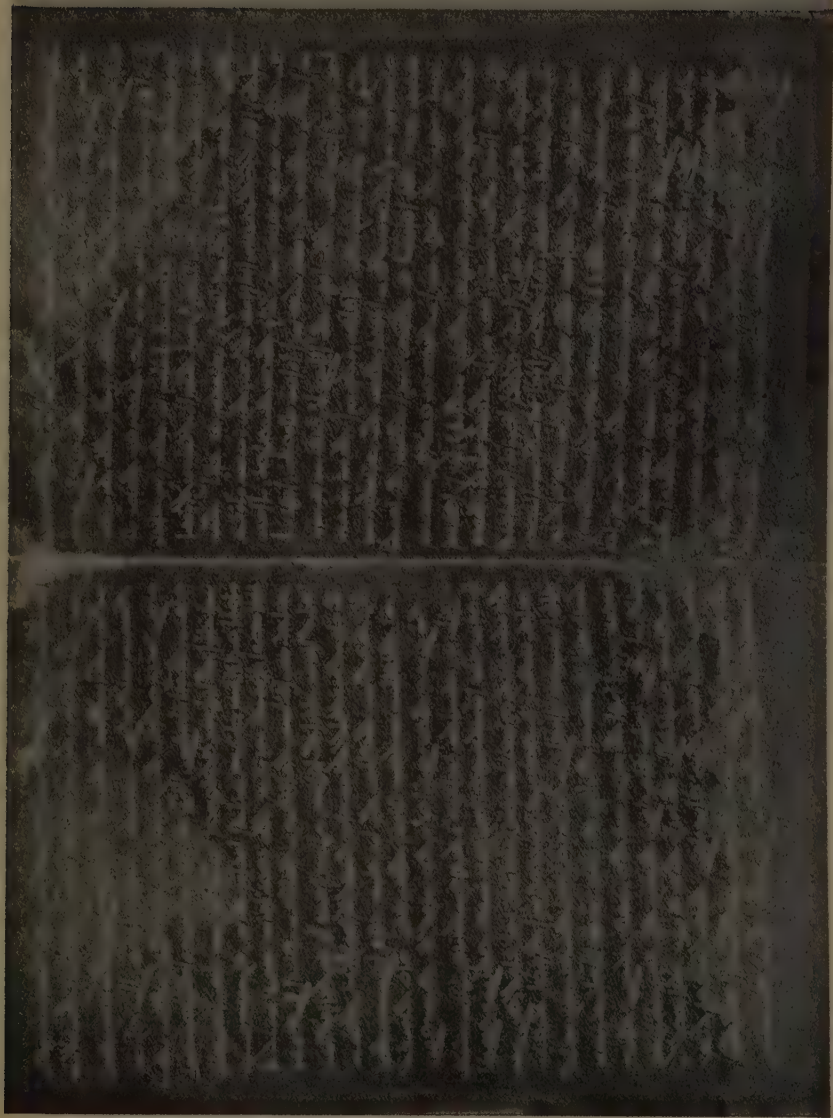




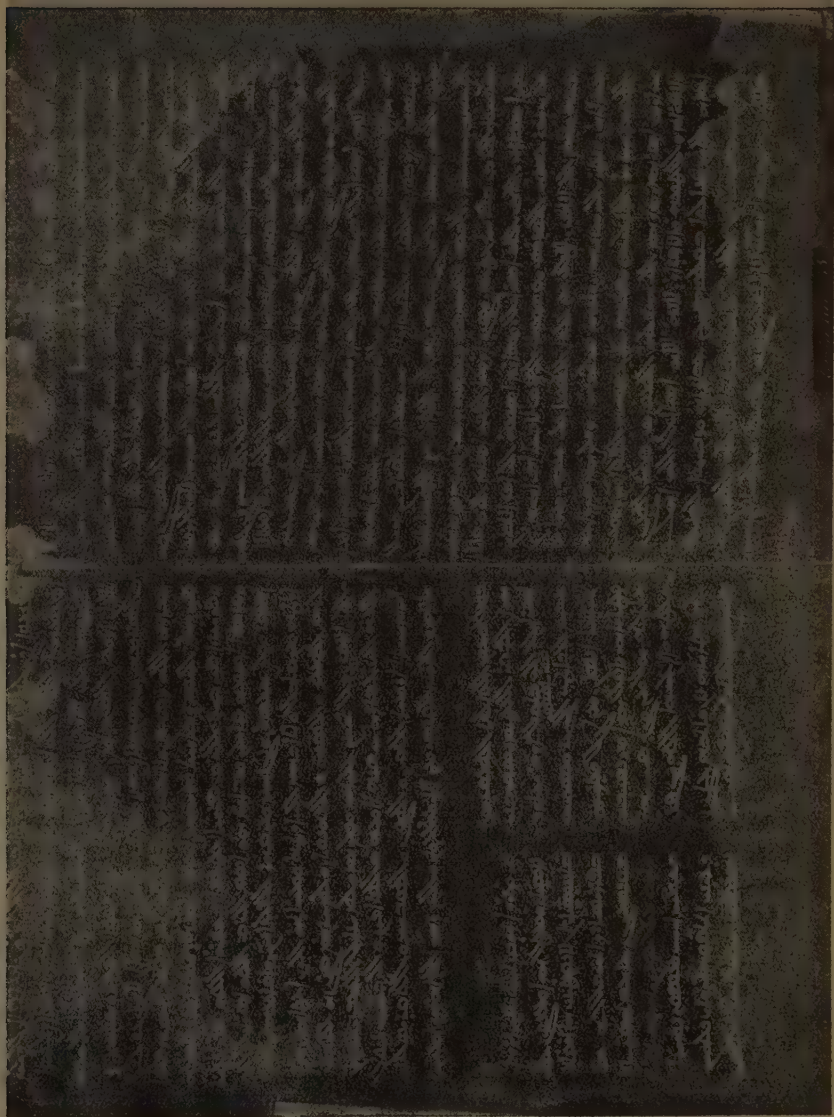












(ii) *A New Life of John the Baptist.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

I give in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of an unknown life of John the Baptist. I have edited the text from two MSS. of my own collection, numbered Mingana Syr. 22 and Mingana Syr. 183, in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham. (Hereafter M. 22 and M. 183). In spite of a thorough search I have failed to discover the existence of a third MS. in the public libraries of Europe the catalogues of which are at my disposal.

The MSS. exhibit short lacunæ, but fortunately these lacunæ do not affect identical passages, and by collating the two I was able to establish a complete, continuous, and unbroken text. M. 22 is also in many places in a bad state of preservation, and some words and occasionally whole lines have disappeared from it, apart from the lacuna of one leaf referred to in the present edition. This deficiency has, however, been supplied from M. 183 and the words that are missing in the former MS. are inserted between parentheses and marked (a a). M. 22 is dated 1838 of the Greeks (A.D. 1527) and M. 183 has no colophon, but on palæographical grounds it may be ascribed to about A.D. 1750. In spite of some important variants, there is reason to believe that both MSS. represent a single recension of the story, although M. 22 may be supposed to have been written for the use of Egyptian Christians and M. 183 for that of Syrian Christians.

If we are to believe the contents of the story, it was written by Serapion, bishop of a town in Egypt, during the Patriarchate of Theophilus who governed the sea of Alexandria in 385-412. But from the mention of Theodosius the Great in connection with some events of the narrative, it may be affirmed with a good deal of probability that Serapion was writing in one of the years falling within A.D. 385-395.

If the story is a translation from Greek, as in many passages it

appears to be, the translator must have used his proper names such as *'Ain Kārim*, *Assuan* and *Homs* in the form in which they were known in his day. Without entering into minute details, I may state, however, that the text seems to contain sentences that have been interpolated by authors or copyists who might have lived at a date much later than that of Serapion. Some notes that I have ventured to add to the narrative will, I hope, help the reader to form his own opinion on the value of the story in the domain of history, exegesis, and Apocryphal literature.

In the edition I placed in the main body of the page the text of M. 22 and in the footnotes the various readings exhibited by M. 183, but in the translation I followed the text of either of the two MSS. that appeared to me to be more genuine and archaic. I have transcribed the text in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) as it is found in the MSS., and given a facsimile of each MS. to show the reader its palæographic peculiarities. The Arabic style used in the story is in correctness and excellency of diction about equal to that used in the "Apocryphal Jeremiah" published above.

#### TRANSLATION.

With the assistance of God and His divine guidance we begin to write the life of the holy Mar John the Baptist, son of Zacharias : may his intercession be with us. Amen !

There was an aged priest-Levite<sup>1</sup> from the tribe of Judah, whose name was Zacharias. He was a prophet who rose among the children of Israel in the days of Herod, King of Judaea. He had a God-loving wife, called Elizabeth,<sup>2</sup> and she was from the daughters of Aaron, from the tribe of Levi. She was barren and had no children, and she and her husband were advanced in years. They were both righteous and pious people, guiding their steps by all the commandments and ordinances of God. And Zacharias was officiating constantly in the Temple of the Lord. When it fell to him,

<sup>1</sup> How could Zacharias have been at the same time a priest, a Levite, and from the tribe of Judah? Can Judah be a mistake for *Abia*, and can the preceding word *Kabilah* be translated by *course*, *order* (Luke i. 5, and 1 Chron. xxiv. 10)?

<sup>2</sup> M. 22 uses the Greek form of the name and M. 183 the Syriac form throughout.

during the turn of his division, to burn incense to the Lord, he entered the Temple according to his habit, at the time of the burning of the incense, and the angel of the Lord appeared to him immediately, standing on the right of the altar. When Zacharias saw him he was frightened and startled. But the angel said to him : "Do not be afraid, but rather rejoice, O Zacharias ! God has heard your prayer, and your wife Elizabeth shall conceive and bear you a son, who shall be called John ; you shall have joy and delight, and many shall rejoice over his birth. He shall be great before the Lord, and he shall not drink any wine or strong drink, and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while still in the womb of his mother, and shall reconcile many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God. He shall go before Him in the spirit and with the power of Elijah, in order to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for him."<sup>1</sup>

Zacharias was astonished at these words, and doubt overtook him, because no child had been born to him. He did not remember Abraham, the head of the Patriarchs, to whom God gave Isaac, after he had reached the age of a hundred years, nor his wife Sarah who was also barren like his own wife. Zacharias said, therefore, to the angel : "How can this happen to me while I am an old man, and my wife is advanced in years ?"

And the angel answered and said to him : "I am the angel Gabriel. I have been sent to speak to you and bring you this news. And from now you shall be silent and unable to speak until the day when this takes place, because you did not believe my words, which will be fulfilled in due course." And he disappeared from his sight.

Meanwhile the people were waiting for Zacharias wondering at his remaining so long in the Temple. When he came out he was unable to speak to the people, and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the Temple, and he kept making signs to them. And as soon as his term of service was finished, he returned home. And Elizabeth got information of the affair (from God).

In those days Elizabeth conceived, and lived in seclusion till the fifth month,<sup>2</sup> because she felt somewhat ashamed. She feared to

<sup>1</sup> Many of these data and of those which follow are more or less faithfully taken from the first chapter of Luke.

<sup>2</sup> M. 183 has the "sixth month." This appears to be against Luke i. 24. The discrepancy between the two texts can, however, be accounted for by



appear in her old age while pregnant and milk dripping from her breasts. She lived in a secluded room<sup>1</sup> of her own house, and Zacharias also lived likewise. Between them stood a locked door, and they did not speak at all to anyone in all those days.

When she reached her sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a town in Galilee called Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man named Joseph, from the house of David ; and the name of the virgin was Mary. When the angel came into her presence he said to her :

"Rejoice, O Mary, because you have been favoured with a grace from God. You shall be with child and shall give birth to a son, who shall be called Jesus. He shall be great and shall be called 'Son of the Most High.'" And Mary said to the angel : "How can this happen to me while I have not known any man?" And the angel said to her : "The Holy Spirit shall descend upon you, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you, because the child that is born of you is holy and shall be called 'Son of God,' and lo Elizabeth who is related to you is also expecting a child in her old age, and it is now the sixth month with her who is called barren, because with God there is nothing impossible." And she had no doubt on the matter but said to the head of the angels : "I am the servant of the Lord, let it be with me as you have said." He then greeted her and disappeared.

Mary was astonished at the fact that Elizabeth was expecting a child, and kept saying in her heart : "Thy acts are wonderful and great, O God Omnipotent, because Thou hast given descendants to an old and barren woman. I shall not cease walking until I have met her and beheld the wonderful miracle which God has performed in our times : a virgin giving birth to a child,<sup>2</sup> and a barren woman suckling."<sup>3</sup>

In those days she rose up in haste and went into the hill-country, to the town of Judah, and she entered the house of Zacharias, and the fact that both of them may be referred to the *end* of the fifth month. The particle *ila* "till" may designate either the beginning or the end of a specified time. M. 22 takes this "till" to imply *all* (or the *end* of) the fifth month, and M. 183 uses the same "till" to mean only the *beginning* of the sixth month, or in other words the end of the fifth.

<sup>1</sup> Syr. *Kaitōna*.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Mary herself.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably Elizabeth.

greeted Elizabeth. The latter went to her with great joy and delight, and greeted her, saying : " Blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb."

The holy and pious virgin embraced then the true turtle-dove, and the Word baptised John while still in the womb of his mother. And David appeared in the middle and said : " Mercy and truth have met together, and righteousness and peace have kissed each other."<sup>1</sup> And immediately after John moved in the womb, as if wishing to come out and greet his master. After they had finished their mutual greetings, the Virgin stayed with Elizabeth three months, until the latter's time was near, and then returned to her home.

When the holy Elizabeth gave birth (to her son) there was a great joy and delight in her house, and after eight days they went to circumcise him, and wished to call him Zacharias. His mother, however, said : " No, call him John." And they said to her : " You have no relation of that name." And she said to them : " Ask his father<sup>2</sup> about his name." And he asked for a writing-tablet and wrote thus : " His name is John." When he had written this he recovered the use of his tongue forthwith, and he glorified God who had granted him this great mercy, and uttered prophecies concerning his son John the Baptist, and was cognisant of the gift that he had received from God.

John grew up in a beautiful childhood and sucked his mother two years.<sup>3</sup> The grace of God was on his face, and he grew up fortified by the Spirit. When Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, behold magians came from the East saying : " Where is he that is born, the King of the Jews ? for we have seen his star in the East and are come to worship Him." When Herod the king heard these words he was troubled by what he had heard from the magians that (that child) was the King of the Jews, and he immediately desired to kill him.

Then the angel of the Lord appeared forthwith to Joseph and said to him : " Arise and take the child and his mother and flee into the land of Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxxv. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Read *abāhu*.

<sup>3</sup> This was, and often is now, a general habit in the East.

<sup>4</sup> Many of the above sentences are a more or less faithful rendering of the second chapter of Matthew.

Then Herod sought the Master in order to destroy Him, but he did not find Him, and he began to kill all the children of Bethlehem. And Elizabeth feared, that her son John might be killed like them, and she took him immediately to Zacharias in the Temple, and she said to him: "My lord, let us go with our son John to some other countries, in order to save him from Herod the unbeliever, who is murdering children because of Jesus the Christ. Mary and Joseph have already gone to the land of Egypt. Get up quickly that they may not kill our son, and change<sup>1</sup> our joy into grief." And Zacharias answered and said to her: "I must not leave the service of the Temple of the Lord and go to a foreign land the inhabitants of which worship idols." And she said to him: "What should I do in order to save my infant child?" And the old man answered and said to her: "Arise and go to the wilderness of 'Ain Kārim,<sup>2</sup> and by the will of God you will be able to save your son. If they seek after him, they will shed my blood instead of his."

How great was the amount of grief that occurred at that time when they separated from each other! The holy Zacharias took the child to his bosom, blessed him, kissed him and said: "Woe is me, O my son John, O glory of my old age! They have impeded me from having any access to your face which is full of grace." He then took him and went into the Temple, and blessed him, saying: "May God protect you in your journey!"

Immediately after Gabriel, the head of the angels, came down to him from heaven holding a raiment and a leathern girdle, and said to him: "O Zacharias, take these and put them on your son. God sent them to him from heaven. This raiment is that of Elijah, and this girdle that of Elisha." And the holy Zacharias took them from the angel, prayed over them and gave them to his son, and fastened on

<sup>1</sup> Read *yarji*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. C. Schick (*Zeitsch. des Deut. Pal. Vereins*, 1899, p. 86) writes: "Nach der Tradition ist 'Ain Kārim, ein Dorf 1½ Stunden westlich von Jerusalem, der Geburtsort Johannes des Täuflers." He further identifies *wādi ṣ-Ṣarār*, half an hour west of 'Ain Kārim, where there is a small spring of water called *Ain al-Habs*, with the "wilderness" of Matt. iii. 1, in which John preached (*ibid.*, p. 90). Schick discusses also the antiquity of the tradition on pp. 88-90 of his article (*q.v.*). The wilderness of Judaea in which John dwelt is generally understood to mean the wild waste which lies to the west of the Dead Sea.

him the raiment which was of camel's hair with the leathern girdle. He then brought him back to his mother and said to her : " Take him and bring him into the desert, because the hand of the Lord is with him. I have learnt from God that he will stay in the desert till the day of his showing unto Israel."

The blessed Elizabeth took the child while weeping and Zacharias also was weeping, and the latter said : " I know that I shall not see you again in the flesh. Go in peace. May God guide you." Elizabeth walked then away with her son, and went into the wilderness of 'Ain Kārim, and stayed there with him.

It happened that when King Herod sent troops to Jerusalem to kill its children, they<sup>1</sup> came and began to kill children till the evening. That day was the seventh of September.<sup>2</sup> When they began to return to their king, behold, Satan came to them and said : " How did you leave the son of Zacharias without killing him ? He is hidden with his father in the Temple. Do not spare him but kill him in order that the king may not wax angry with you. Go for him, and if you do not find the son, kill the father in his place."

The troops did what Satan taught them, and went to the Temple early in the morning, and found Zacharias standing and serving the Lord, and they said to him : " Where is thy son whom thou hast hidden from us here ?" And he answered them : " I have no child here." They said to him : " You have a child whom you have hidden from the king." And he answered and said : " O cruel ones whose king drinks blood like a lioness, how long will you shed<sup>3</sup> the blood of innocent people ?" They said to him : " Bring out your child so that we may kill him ; if not, we shall kill you in his place." And the prophet answered and said : " As to my son, he has gone with his mother to the wilderness, and I do not know his whereabouts."

Now when Zacharias has said goodbye to Elizabeth and his son John, he had blessed him and made him a priest, and afterwards delivered him to his mother, who said to him : " Pray over me O my

<sup>1</sup> Read *ajnāduhu*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ilūl*, this month corresponds with September (old style). In no Menologium or Martyrologium of the Eastern Churches as printed in the *Pat. Orient.* x. 1-343 is the feast of the Holy Innocents referred to the seventh of September. The author apparently is writing here in a purely historical way without any reference to the ecclesiastical commemorations of saints.

<sup>3</sup> Read *tasfkūna*.



holy father, so that God may render my path in the wilderness easy." And he said to her : " May He who made us beget our child in our old age, direct your path." Then she took the child and went into the wilderness in which no soul lived.

" O<sup>1</sup> blessed Elizabeth, your story is truly wonderful and praise-worthy. You did not ask for an adult<sup>2</sup> to accompany you, and you knew neither the way nor a hiding place. You did not care to provide food nor a little drinking water for the child. You did not say to his father Zacharias : ' To whom are you sending me in the wilderness ? ' At that time there was neither a monastery in the desert nor a congregation of monks so that you may say : ' I shall go and stay with them with my son.' Tell me, O blessed<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth : whom did you trust, inasmuch as the evangelist testifies to the fact that you were advanced in years without having had any child, and now you have been suckling this child of yours for three years ? " <sup>4</sup> Listen now to the answer of the blessed Elizabeth :

" Why are you astonished at me that I am going alone into the wilderness ? What should I fear while a kinsman of God is in my arms ? Behold Gabriel is accompanying me and paving the way for me." And she said : " I have confidence in the kiss that Mary, His mother, gave me, because when I greeted her the babe leaped with joy in my womb, and I heard both babes embracing each other in our wombs." And Elizabeth added : " I went and put on my son a raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle in order that the mountain of the holy wilderness may (in future) be inhabited, and in order that monasteries and congregations of monks may increase in it and that sacrifice may be offered<sup>5</sup> in it in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. If God assisted Hagar and her son when they wandered in the desert, and they were only slaves, how will He not apply to us the precedent that He has himself established beforehand ? "

In the above words we have described to you the merits of the holy Elizabeth.<sup>6</sup> Let us now proceed and commemorate the holy

<sup>1</sup> Read *ayyatuha*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *kabiran*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *ayyatuha*.

<sup>4</sup> The author stated above that John sucked his mother two years ; he probably refers here to the beginning of the third year.

<sup>5</sup> Read *wa-yarfa'u*.

<sup>6</sup> All the above lines are therefore a literary digression on the part of the author. The same thing happens below with regard to Zacharias.

Zacharias, the martyr,<sup>1</sup> and relate to you a few of his numerous merits :

"I should wish to praise your true life, but I fear to hear a reproof from you, similar to that you made to the blessed Elizabeth. I am full of admiration for you, O pious Zacharias ! In the time when the soldiers of Herod came to you and asked you saying : "Where is your infant son, the child of your old age ?"—You did not deny the fact and say : "I have no knowledge of such a child," but you simply answered : "His mother took him into the desert." And when Zacharias uttered these words to the soldiers concerning his son, they killed him inside the Temple, and the priests shrouded his body and placed it near that of his father Berechiah in a hidden cemetery, from fear of the wicked (king) ; and his blood boiled on the earth for fifty years, until Titus son of Vespasian, the Emperor of the Romans, came and destroyed Jerusalem and killed the Jewish priests for the blood of Zacharias, as the Lord ordered him.<sup>2</sup>

As to the blessed John he wandered in the desert with his mother, and God prepared for him locusts and wild honey as food, in accordance with what his mother was told about him not to let any unclean food enter his mouth. After five years the pious and blessed old mother Elizabeth passed away,<sup>3</sup> and the holy John sat weeping over her, as he did not know how to shroud her and bury her, because on the day of her death he was only seven years and six months old. And Herod also died the same day as the blessed Elizabeth.<sup>4</sup>

The Lord Jesus Christ who with His eyes sees heaven and earth saw His kinsman John sitting and weeping near his mother, and He also began to weep for a long time, without anyone knowing the cause of His weeping. When the mother of Jesus saw Him weeping, she said to Him : "Whay are you weeping ? Did the old man Joseph 'or any other one chide you ?" And the mouth that was full of life answered : "No, O my mother, the real reason is that your

<sup>1</sup> Possibly read *as-shahīd*.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence about Titus and Vespasian is missing in M. 22.

<sup>3</sup> From Syriac *ittnih*.

<sup>4</sup> Herod the Great died in 4 B.C., but the Chronology on which the Christian era is based is of course erroneous. See the *Encyclopædias* and the *Dictionaries of the Bible* under "Chronology." Can any historical value be attached to our author's statement concerning the year of the death of Herod ?

kinswoman, the old Elizabeth, has left my beloved John an orphan. He is now weeping over her body which is lying in the mountain."

When the Virgin heard this she began to weep over her kinswoman, and Jesus said to her: "Do not weep, O my virgin mother, you will see her in this very hour." And while he was still speaking with his mother, behold a luminous cloud came down and placed itself between them. And Jesus said: "Call Salome and let us take her with us." And they mounted the cloud which flew with them to the wilderness of 'Ain Kārim and to the spot where lay the body of the blessed Elizabeth, and where the holy John was sitting.

The Saviour said then to the cloud: "Leave us here at this side of the spot." And it immediately went, reached that spot, and departed. Its noise, however, reached the ears of Mar<sup>1</sup> John, who, seized with fear, left the body of his mother. A voice reached him immediately and said to him: "Do not be afraid, O John. I am Jesus Christ, your master. I am your kinsman Jesus, and I came to you with my beloved mother in order to attend to the business of the burial of the blessed Elizabeth, your happy mother, because she is my mother's kinswoman." When the blessed and holy John heard this, he turned back, and Christ the Lord and His virgin mother embraced him. Then the Saviour said to His virgin mother: "Arise, you and Salome, and wash the body." And they washed the body of the blessed Elizabeth in the spring from which she used to draw water for herself and her son. Then the holy virgin Mart<sup>2</sup> Mary got hold of the blessed (John) and wept over him, and cursed Herod on account of the numerous crimes which he had committed. Then Michael and Gabriel came down from heaven and dug a grave; and the Saviour said to them: "Go and bring the soul of Zacharias, and the soul of the priest Simeon,<sup>3</sup> in order that they may sing while you bury the body." And Michael brought immediately the souls of Zacharias and Simeon, who shrouded the body of Elizabeth and sang for a long time over it.

And the mother of Jesus and Salome wept, and the two priests made the sign of the cross<sup>4</sup> on the body and prayed over it three times

<sup>1</sup> Syriac word meaning "my Lord" used before the names of saints and of ecclesiastical dignitaries.

<sup>2</sup> Feminine of Mar explained in the previous note.

<sup>3</sup> The man spoken of in Luke ii. 25 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. *rsham*, which literally means "to imprint."

before they laid it to rest in the grave ; then they buried it, and sealed the grave with the sign of the cross, and went back to their own places in peace. And Jesus Christ and His mother stayed near the blessed and the holy John seven days, and condoled with him at the death of his mother, and taught him how to live in the desert. And the day of the death of the blessed Elizabeth was the 15th of February.<sup>1</sup>

Then Jesus Christ said to His mother ; " Let us now go to the place where I may proceed with my work." The Virgin Mary wept immediately over the loneliness of John, who was very young<sup>2</sup> and said : " We will take him with us, since he is an orphan without anyone."<sup>3</sup> But Jesus said to her : " This is not the will of My Father who is in the heavens. He shall remain in the wilderness till the day of his showing unto Israel. Instead of a desert full of wild beasts, he will walk<sup>4</sup> in a desert full of angels and prophets, as if they were multitudes of people. Here is also Gabriel, the head of the angels, whom I have appointed to protect him and to grant to him power from heaven. Further, I shall render the water of this spring of water as sweet and delicious to him as the milk he sucked from his mother. Who took care of him in his childhood ? Is it not I, O my mother, who love him more than all the world ? Zacharias also loved him, and I have ordered him to come to him and inquire after him, because although his body is buried in the earth, his soul is alive.

" As to Elizabeth his mother, she will constantly visit him and comfort him, as if she was not dead at all. Blessed is she, O my mother, because she bore my beloved. Her mouth will never suffer putrefaction, because she kissed your pure lips ; and her tongue will not be dismembered in the earth, because she prophesied concerning you and said : " Happy is she who believed that the promise that she received from the Lord would be fulfilled"<sup>5</sup> ; nor will her womb

<sup>1</sup> In a Jacobite Menologium (*Pat. Orient.* x. 36) the feast of Elizabeth is fixed on the 16th of December. In another Menologium her death is assigned to the 10th of February (*Pat. Orient.* x. 140 index). In a Coptic-Arabic Menologium her feast is on the 26th Tut (= 23 September). See *Pat. Orient.* x. 189, 233 (index) and 253. In the Ethiopic Menologium (Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, i. 606) her feast is on the 16th Jakatit (= 10 February). I do not believe that any of the above dates (including that given by our document) has any historical value.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ṣaghiran*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *yasir* (with *sin*).

<sup>3</sup> Read *aḥadin*.

<sup>5</sup> Luke i. 45.



decay in the earth, because her body, like her soul, shall suffer no putrefaction. And my beloved John will last for ever, and he will see us and be comforted."

These words the Christ our Lord spoke to his mother, while John was in the desert. And they mounted the cloud, and John looked at them and wept, and Mart<sup>1</sup> Mary wept also bitterly over him, saying: "Woe is me, O John, because you are alone in the desert without anyone.<sup>2</sup> Where is Zacharias, your father, and where is Elizabeth, your mother? Let them come and weep<sup>3</sup> with me to-day."

And Jesus Christ said to her: "Do not weep over this child, O my mother. I shall not forget him." And while he was uttering these word, behold the clouds lifted them up and brought them to Nazareth. And He fulfilled there everything pertaining to humanity except sin.

And John dwelt in the desert, and God and His angels were with him. He lived in great asceticism and devotion. His only food was grass<sup>4</sup> and wild honey. He prayed constantly, fasted much and was in expectation of the salvation of Israel.

And Herod the Younger<sup>5</sup> who reigned over Judea, lived with his brother's wife, in the second year of his reign. He did not marry her openly, but he used to find an opportune moment<sup>6</sup> to send after her and usher her in his bedchamber which was full of corruption, and there perpetrate their abomination.<sup>7</sup> At that time Gabriel, head of the angels, taught John in the desert to say: "O King, you have no right to live with the wife of your brother, while he is still alive."<sup>8</sup> And he repeated this, crying in the desert, as the angel had taught him. In the night people could hear his voice, and Herodias used to light a lamp and search the bedchamber, believing that somebody may have intruded into it, but found nobody, and only heard the voice.

The two began then to have misgivings on account of this happen-

<sup>1</sup> See note of p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> Read *aḥadin*.

<sup>3</sup> Read in the dual form *ya'tiā* and *yabkiā*.

<sup>4</sup> The author seems to identify the "locusts" used in the Gospel in connection with the food of John, with a kind of grass. This is also the opinion of some ancient writers.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Herod Antipas. This epithet is applied to him in order to distinguish him from Herod the Great, son of Antipater.

<sup>6</sup> Read *fursatan*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *nifākahuma*.

<sup>8</sup> Mark vi. 18. Read *ḥayyun*.

ing, and Herodias said to Herod : " Arise and despatch troops to the desert of 'Ain Kārim, in order that they may kill John, because the voice we hear is his." God, however, was with the lad, and delivered him from their hands. When she ascertained that through him there would be no peace for her in her (iniquitous) act, she persuaded the wicked king who gave her the following promise : " If we happen to hear this voice again, we shall summon the magicians and inform them to take hold of John and kill him secretly." And the voice did not cease to worry them.

And the wicked Herodias said : " How can this John, a wanderer in the desert and in the wilderness, a man whose body is not fit to wear the clothing of men, but a raiment of camel's hair, rebuke the king of his own country, whose authority extends to his own region ? " Then Herodias said to the king : " What pleases you to do, do it openly, and do not believe that anyone in this region will blame you for it, except John, and when opportunity offers itself we shall get rid of him." It is in this way that the adulteress set the heart of Herod on their sin, and persuaded him to deliver his brother<sup>1</sup> to death, and to marry her openly.

And John did not cease to rebuke Herod every day in the desert until he was thirty years old. As to Jesus, He increased in wisdom, stature, and grace with God and men,<sup>2</sup> and did not show any deeds of His Divinity, but acted with humility towards all men. And when He was twelve years old, He began to rebuke the Teachers and deceivers of the people. And in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, who reigned after Augustus, when Herod was tetrarch of Galilee, and when Annas and Caiaphas were high priests, in that year the word of God came unto John, son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. He came into the countries that surround the Jordan<sup>3</sup> preaching and saying : " Repent ye for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand." <sup>4</sup> And people from all the region of Judæa and Jerusalem went out to him and were baptised by him in the Jordan confessing their sins.<sup>5</sup>

In those days the Saviour came to him from Galilee to the Jordan and said to him : " Baptize me." When John saw God standing before him and wishing to be baptized by him, he was seized with

<sup>1</sup> Read *akhāhu*.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. iii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Luke ii. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Mark i. 5, Matt. iii. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Luke iii. 1-3.

great fright and said to him : " He who made the children of Israel walk in the Red Sea and drink sweet water from a solid rock,<sup>1</sup> stands before His servant who is in need to be baptized with His Divine hands, and says ' Baptize me ' " ! And he began to turn away from Him. But (Jesus) said to him : " Stop now ; it is thus that we must fulfil all righteousness. " <sup>2</sup>

Then both of them went down into the water, and the holy John baptized Him, saying : " I baptize the One Whom the Father has sent to establish<sup>3</sup> a great sacrament. " <sup>4</sup> And immediately after the heavens opened and the Holy Spirit descended upon Him, like a dove. And John saw it face to face, and the Father cried saying : " This is my beloved Son in whom I delight, obey Him. " And our Saviour came out of the water and went forthwith into the desert. As to John, he remained near the Jordan, baptizing all those who came to him.

In that time Herod rose against Philip his brother and intrigued against him with the Emperor Cæsar, saying : " The one whom you have appointed to be the ruler of Trachonitis,<sup>5</sup> who is Philip, has misgoverned your region, and said : " I shall not pay tribute to the king because I am also a king. " Cæsar waxed greatly angry and ordered Herod to dispossess him of his region and to confiscate all his estate and his house, and not to have any pity, not even on his soul. Herod acted on the orders of the Emperor and plundered the region of his brother Philip with his house and all his possessions, and reigned over his region.

And Philip had a wife called Herodias, who had a daughter by the same Philip, called Arcostiana.<sup>6</sup> The mother was even more adulteress than the daughter. When Philip became poorer than anybody else, Herodias hated him greatly, and said to him : " I shall not remain with you any more, but shall go to your new lord Herod who is better than you. " Then she wrote immediately to Herod saying : " Herodias writes to Herod as follows : ' Now that you have all Syria

<sup>1</sup> Read *šammā*.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. iii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Here are two pages in M. 22 filled with scribblings, diagrams, and computations by various owners, but the text of the life of the Baptist is continuous.

<sup>4</sup> Or : to fulfil a great mystery.

<sup>5</sup> In the original : Antarachonia.

<sup>6</sup> The name is given below as *Uxoriana*, which by its connection with the Latin *uxor* seems to be more accurate. M. 183 has, however, *Orcostiriana*.

under your sway and you reign over all the earth, you have not taken me as your wife. I am very beautiful and better than all the women of Judæa. I have also a daughter the like of whom I have never seen in all the world for beauty and stature. I wish to be your wife. I hated your brother<sup>1</sup> very much in order to strengthen your kingdom.”

When these cunning words reached the wicked (king), he was pleased with them, and he immediately gave orders that she and her daughter be taken out of the house of Philip. When Philip saw that his wife was being taken from him by force, he wept bitterly and said to his daughter: “You stay with your father in case your mother is taken from me.” But the adulteress said to him: “I shall not stay with you, but shall accompany my mother wherever she goes.” They were, therefore, taken both of them and presented to Herod, who was greatly pleased with them,<sup>2</sup> because he was an adulterer.

They performed marvels of diabolical cunning, and the wicked king lived daily with both of them in adultery. Some people, however, brought their story to the knowledge of John the Baptist on behalf of Philip, Herodias’ husband. Now John was considered by all as a prophet, and everybody praised him because he was teaching the people and saying: “Bring forth fruits meet for repentance, because every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.”<sup>3</sup>

When John heard the news from Philip he was much afflicted at the perdition of Herod and Herodias, and he immediately sent a message to Herod and said to him: “John the Baptist, son of Zacharias, tells you, O Herod, that you have no right to marry the wife of your brother, while he is still alive.” When Herod heard these words he was much frightened and perplexed, and he went to Herodias and said to her: “O Herodias, what shall we do? It is the end of our sinful union as it has been brought to the knowledge of John the Baptist, and behold he has rebuked me. Woe to us, because our sins have increased greatly and reached the ears of the prophets.”

The wicked woman said then to him: “Long live you, O king! Who is John, the wearer of camel’s hair, to contradict and rebuke a mighty monarch like you? He surely deserves that somebody should

<sup>1</sup> Read *akhāka*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bihima*, and place all the following verbs in the dual form.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. iii. 8, 10.



pull out and cut off his tongue." And he said to her : "What can we do ? We cannot bear the rebuke of that great (prophet)." And she answered and said to him : "Summon him here and I will kill him, and we shall continue our mutual relations in peace." And she performed before him obscene acts and immoral artifices, and Satan filled his heart against the holy and just man Mar John<sup>1</sup> the Baptist, and he dispatched soldiers against him, who seized him and cast him in prison.

Then Herodias summoned him out of prison to her presence and said to him : "What is your business with me, O chaste man, that you wish to separate me from the king ? I conjure you by the God of your father not to do this with me again. To tell you the truth, if you are silent concerning me and do not rebuke me another time, I shall deliver you from prison and bestow great favours upon you." And the holy Mar John the Baptist said to her : "I say to you, O Herodias, not to live with Herod while your husband Philip is alive." When the wicked woman heard this, she was incensed with anger against him and said to him : "You will surely die at my hands, and I shall put the hair of your head in the pillow on which<sup>2</sup> I lay my head with Herod, and I shall bury your head in the place where I wash after having enjoyed myself with the king." John then said to her : "The Lord will allow you to kill me but my head<sup>3</sup> you will not see. It will remain after me, and proclaim your iniquity and shame to all the world. Woe to you for my unjust murder, because your end is at hand."

She then said to his keepers : "Take him and keep him in prison with fetters, and if he escapes, you shall lose your souls." And the soldiers took him and kept him in prison with chains. And Herodias tried to induce Herod to kill him, but he said to her : "I cannot kill him in this way. People will rise against me, drive me out, and bring accusation against me to the Emperor, who will take my kingdom from me as he took that of my brother Philip." And he said to her :

<sup>1</sup> See note of p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> Read *allati*.

<sup>3</sup> The Arabic text uses constantly the word *ra's* "head" in feminine, which is absolutely contrary to the genius of all the Semitic languages. This proves that the work is of Egyptian origin, and that it emanates from a Greek or a Coptic original, or at least that it was written by a Copt who was under the influence of the language of Homer in which *κεφαλή* is feminine.

"Show me a better method of doing away with him."<sup>1</sup> And she said to him: "I will tell you a word, and if you listen to it, you will have an opportunity of killing him." And he said to her: "Tell it to me." And she said to him: "Behold the envoys<sup>2</sup> of the king are with you, arise and prepare a dinner for them, to which you will invite all your high officials; and your birthday falls also in these days. When people become hilarious and begin to get drunk with wine, I shall send in my daughter dressed in her best clothes, and she will dance before you, O king, with her sweet face. When she has done this ask her, saying, 'Desire of me whatever you like,' and you will swear to her by the life of the Emperor that you will give her whatever she wishes. She will then ask for the head of John, and you will have an opportune moment to cut off his head."

Herod was circumvented by the reasoning of the adulteress, and began to fulfil her desires, as he loved her because of her beauty and diabolical artifices. In that very day he prepared the dinner, and the messengers of the Emperor were sitting next to him. When they began to get drunk the accursed Uxoriana entered the room, and on her were strings of gold and silver, perfumes and jewellery of high value, and presented herself to all the company. She danced with a diabolical passion, and Satan filled the hearts of the guests with evil and passion through her iniquitous artfulness. All were pleased<sup>3</sup> with her, and Herod was proud<sup>4</sup> and said to her: "Ask me for whatever you like, and by the life of the Emperor Tiberius Cæsar, I will give it to you, even if it be the half of my kingdom and my possessions."<sup>5</sup> And she said what she was taught by her mother: "I wish here<sup>6</sup> to have the head of John the Baptist, on a dish." The king began to be very sad, on account of the oath he had taken by the life of the Emperor, and he owed to the guests that he was unable to break his oath.

He therefore dispatched an executioner, who went to the prison and there cut off John's head on a dish, on the second of the month of

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is missing in M. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Read *rusul*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *surra*.

<sup>4</sup> Or: thought.

<sup>5</sup> The story is in many places a faithful rendering of Mark iv. 17-29.

<sup>6</sup> Read *hadha* in M. 22.

September,<sup>1</sup> and he brought it to Herod, who handed it to the girl, and the girl handed it to her mother. Now, before the messengers of the king and the executioner had gone to him, to behead him, John had said to his disciples : " Behold the king has sent men to cut off my head. They have already left with unsheathed swords in their hands, and with lanterns, lamps, and weapons."<sup>2</sup> What is happening in this hour will happen in the night in which Christ will be betrayed. As to me, my head will be cut off and be shown on a dish, but the Christ will be lifted up on the cross, in order that He may purify all with His pure blood ; as to me I am going to my place, but woe to the king who ordered my head to be cut off ; many calamities will befall him, and the people of Israel will be scattered because of him. As to you, do not be afraid, because no one will be able to do you any harm." He then opened his mouth and blessed and glorified God for his incomprehensible gifts, saying : " I bless Thee and praise Thee, O invisible Father, O visible Son,<sup>3</sup> and O comforting Holy Spirit."

Let us now proceed to describe the story of the head of the blessed Mar John the Baptist. When it was brought before Herodias, the eyes of the holy John were open and his ears were hearing as in his lifetime.<sup>4</sup> The adulteress spoke then with ire before the head as follows : " O accursed one, who were not ashamed to look at the king in the face and answer him, I shall put out your eyes with my

<sup>1</sup> *Ilūl*. M. 183 has : " On the twenty-ninth of the month of August. The Armenian Synaxarium printed in *Pat. Or.* v. 454 fixes also the feast of the Decollation of the Baptist on the 19th of Navasard (= 29th August). So also is the case with the Syrian Menologia and Martyrologia printed in *Pat. Or.* x. pp. 45, 85, 101, 106, 112, 129, and 131. In the Menologium printed *ibid.* on p. 53 this feast is assigned to the 15th of December. The same feast is assigned to the 7th of January on pp. 54, 69, 94, 103, 109, 117, and 129. In a Greek life of the saint printed in *Pat. Or.* iv. 527-541 the head is reported to have been cut off on the 29th of the month of Dystros, which in Græco-Arab calendars of Gaza corresponds with 15th or 25th of March. None of the above dates seems to me to have any historical value. In the Greek Synaxarium of Constantinople printed by the Jesuit Delchaye in 1902 (*Col.* 934) the Baptist is also murdered on the 29th of August. For the date of the festival of the Decollation of the Baptist in the different churches of the West, see Smith's and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 882-883.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. John xviii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Read *ru'iya*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *alladhi*.

hands and place them on a dish, and I shall cut off the tongue which used to say to the king that it was unlawful for him to marry Herodias, his brother's wife. As to the hair of your head and of your beard I shall pluck it and place it under the feet of my bedstead."

She said all this with malice and wickedness, and she stretched her hand to hold the head of Mar John the Baptist and do with it what she had said. But immediately after the head of the blessed John let the locks of its hair rise from the dish, and it flew to the middle of the convivial room before the king and his high officials. In that very moment the roof of the house was opened and the head of John flew in the air. As to Herodias her eyes were put out and fell on the floor and the roof of her room<sup>1</sup> fell upon her, and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed her up to her neck, and she went alive to the depth of hell. As to her daughter she became mad and broke all the utensils of the dinner party. In her madness she went to the icy pond and danced on it, and by order of the Lord the ice broke under her and she sank to her neck. In vain did the soldiers endeavour to pull her up, because the Lord did not wish her deliverance. Then they cut off her head with the very sword that was used to kill John the Baptist. Then a fish cast her out of the pond, dead.<sup>2</sup> May God not have mercy upon her!

In that moment Herod also had a sudden stroke before his guests. When his agent noticed these great miracles, he repaired quickly to the prison, took the body of the saint and gave it to his disciples, who took it to the town of Sebaste where they buried it,<sup>3</sup> near the body of the prophet Elisha. As to his head, it flew over Jerusalem, and cried for three years to the town, saying: "It is not lawful for you, O Herod, to marry the wife of your brother while he is still alive." After it had cried for three years, it went to all the world shouting and pro-

<sup>1</sup> From Syr. *kaitona* as above.

<sup>2</sup> In the apocryphal *Letter of Herod to Pilate* it is written: "My daughter Herodias was playing upon the water (i.e. the ice) and fell in up to her neck. And her mother caught at her head to save her, and it was cut off, and the water swept her body away. My wife is sitting with the head on her knees weeping." James' *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 155-156. The Syriac text of the letter has been edited by Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*, ii, 17-18.

<sup>3</sup> Even in the time of Yāqūt, the well known Muslim geographer, the grave of John the Baptist was shown at Sebaste (*Mu'jam al Buldān*, iii. 33, edit. Wüstenfeld).



claiming the horrible crime of Herod, and repeating the words : "It is not lawful for you, O Herod, to marry the wife of your brother while he is still alive."

Fifteen years after it had been cut off it ceased proclaiming, and rested on the town of Homs.<sup>1</sup> The faithful who were in that town took it and buried it with great pomp. A long time after, a church was built on it, which is still standing in our time. And the head of the holy John the Baptist was buried there fifteen years after the resurrection of Christ, the Lord, and it remained there down to our own days.<sup>2</sup>

As to the body of the holy John the Baptist, the saint whose feast we are celebrating to-day,<sup>3</sup> it remained in Sebaste—which is Nābulus of Samaria<sup>4</sup>—for four hundred years. Then a pagan king, whose name was Julian, reigned over the world. He had been a Christian at the beginning of his reign, but after that Satan filled his heart and he forsook the faith of our Lord the Christ and worshipped fire. He ordered temples and places of worship to be built in every place where idols could be worshipped, and intimated that such a temple should be erected in the town of Sebaste where lay the body of the holy Baptist. People, however, were unable to comply with the order and to worship idols in that place, on account of the (holy) bodies that were buried there.

They, therefore, assembled and informed the Emperor that as bodies of holy men were buried there, they had been delayed in their building of the temples. Then he said to them : "Go and burn (the

<sup>1</sup> The well known north Syrian town. *Hims* would be a more exact pronunciation of the word. The same Arab geographer, Yākūt, tells us (*ibid.* ii. 335) that a fourth part of the Church of St. John at Homs was turned into a mosque at the time of the Arab conquest.

<sup>2</sup> The author was therefore writing before the sixth century or the time in which a head supposed to be that of John the Baptist was sent to Constantinople. See Barsalibi's *Treatise against the Melchites* and my notes on it in the first fasc. of *Woodbrooke Studies*. In the author's time of writing, which according to the present story is, by necessity, a year within A.D. 385-395, the head of the saint was still at Emesa.

<sup>3</sup> The present history is, therefore, a kind of homily or panegyric pronounced or written by Bishop Serapion.

<sup>4</sup> The clause "which is Nābulus of Samaria," only found in M. 183 and not in M. 22, is apparently an addition of a late copyist. In a preceding passage where the text of M. 22 has no lacuna the same clause is missing in it although found as in the present case in M. 183, which on the whole seems to represent a more modern recension of the story.

bodies) with fire." The Lord, however, did not allow the fire to come near the place where lay the coffins of the prophets, but the same fire consumed a great number of the pagans who had kindled it, and great treasures were brought to light there. Above one of the coffins was seen a vessel containing a leathern girdle, a raiment of camel's hair, a frock, and two leathern belts. The faithful who were in that place understood immediately that the coffins belonged<sup>1</sup> to John the Baptist and to the prophet Elisha, and they wished to remove them from there, but from fear of the wicked Emperor they were not able to do so.<sup>2</sup> When, however, God destroyed him with a death more wretched than that of any other, pious men assembled there and carried the two coffins to the sea with the intention of bringing them to Alexandria, to the holy Father, the Patriarch Athanasius,<sup>3</sup> because they said: "There is in these days no one in the world worthy to take care of these except Father Athanasius, the Patriarch of Alexandria."

When they reached the sea they found a boat bound for Alexandria, and they boarded it with the coffins. They journeyed on the sea and landed on the shores of Alexandria, but as they were unable to disclose their affair to any one because the time was not convenient for that, they went direct to the Patriarch and related to him all that had occurred, and how they were moved by the Holy Spirit to bring the coffins to him. He was greatly pleased with them and went by night to the boat with his brother, and they took the remains in a kerchief and brought them with them, and (the Patriarch) placed them with him in a place in his dwelling, and he did not disclose their whereabouts to anyone. And this Father wished to build a church to John the Baptist, and he was not able to do so because of the troubles caused by the wicked ones.<sup>4</sup>

The bodies remained therefore hidden in the place<sup>5</sup> in which Father Athanasius had secretly placed them, until the time of his

<sup>1</sup> Read *hiya* for *hum*. The construction of the Arabic sentence denotes a Syriac or a Greek original.

<sup>2</sup> This is against the statement of Theodoret who relates that the coffin of the saint was broken and his remains were burnt and their ashes scattered. *Pat. Gr.* lxxxii. 1091. See also *Woodbrooke Studies* (fasc. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Athanasius was Patriarch of Alexandria from 328 to 373.

<sup>4</sup> Arians?

<sup>5</sup> The word here used generally means "fountain." Can it refer to baptismal font?

death. After his death he was succeeded by Father Peter,<sup>1</sup> whose throne was occupied after his death by Father Timothy,<sup>2</sup> who ordained my humble self, your Father Serapion,<sup>3</sup> to this see, without merits on my part.

After his death, he was succeeded by Father Theophilus<sup>4</sup> who is now sitting on the (Patriarchal) see. In his time the grace of God increased, and the faith was strengthened through the pious Theodosius<sup>5</sup> and God united the Emperor and the Patriarch with ties of love. The former threw open the temples in which were treasures, and especially the great temple of Alexandria, in which there was great quantity of gold and silver. And the pious Theodosius honoured the Patriarch, made him superintendent of all the treasures, and said to him: "O Father Theophilus, take these and enrich the churches with them, from this town to Aswan,<sup>6</sup> for the glory of God and His saints." After this he began to build churches. The first church to be built was one under the name of the holy Mar John the Baptist in the great city of Alexandria. He adorned it and made it a great church and wished to place in it the body of the holy Mar John the Baptist. When he had finished it completely, he thought of consecrating it,<sup>7</sup> and he sent immediately to all the bishops under his jurisdiction to congregate for the consecration of the church.

The invitation was also sent to my weakness, and I went with the rest of the bishops to the Pope,<sup>8</sup> the Father Theophilus of

<sup>1</sup> Peter ii. succeeded Athanasius from 373 to 380.

<sup>2</sup> Timothy succeeded Peter from 380 to 385.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot ascertain the identity of this Serapion, who was evidently a bishop of a town in Egypt. For chronological reasons he cannot apparently be identified with Serapion Scholasticus, bishop of Thmuis, nor with Serapion, bishop of Tentyra.

<sup>4</sup> Theophilus was Patriarch of Alexandria from 385 to 412. He is credited with an Apocryphal vision which describes the flight of Christ into Egypt and the mode of life of the holy family in that country. Cf. Baumstark, *Gesch. d. Syr. Lit.* p. 70, and Syr. MS. Mingana, No. 5 ff. 1-18<sup>b</sup> and No. 39 ff. 56<sup>b</sup>-70<sup>b</sup>, both in the custody of Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

<sup>5</sup> Theodosius died in 395.

<sup>6</sup> Or: Assuan. A town in Upper Egypt and Capital of the Egyptian province of Nubia and of the district called in antiquity *Yēbu*, "land of elephants." The island of Elephantine is included in it, and in Greek times it was called *Syene*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *bitakrīsiha*.

<sup>8</sup> The word "Pope" was in early times applied to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and not of Rome.

Alexandria. When it came to his knowledge that all the bishops were nearing the city of Alexandria, he was pleased with us, like one who had found much booty. He came out to meet us accompanied by all the (clergy) who were in the city. We entered the city and stayed some days with him. After this he began to consecrate<sup>1</sup> the church, and he took us and showed<sup>2</sup> it to us, and we found in it wonderful buildings,<sup>3</sup> and he said to us: "O my children, this is the place designated for the purpose by Athanasius, whom time did not favour." And Father Theophilus added: "I was walking with them while I was a simple acolyte at that time and serving him. And when he came to this place, he said to me: "O my son, Theophilus, if you can find opportunity, build in this place a church to Mar John the Baptist and place his bones in it, and after I had built this place, I remembered the saying of the man of God, the Father Athanasius, especially when I bethought me that my Father was like the prophet David, who wished to build a house to God, but was not favoured with it, on account of wars in which he was continually engaged, and God said to him: "Thou shalt not build a house for me, but the one who comes out of thy loins shall build it for me,"<sup>4</sup> and this was Solomon. Since I have finished with the wars against the pagans, I considered myself worthy of building this church which is under the name of the holy Mar John the Baptist, the morning star."

When the second of the month of June came, he took us to the place where the body was placed, and we did not know the right spot, but after praying nocturns God showed it to him. And when he brought it out, he called all the inhabitants of the town and they assembled to him with many lanterns and lamps so that the night shone like day. He let the bishops carry the coffin on their heads and the Patriarch preceded them, and the deacons were singing with majesty and splendour, until we brought the coffin to the church in great pomp. When we entered the church, the Patriarch took hold of the coffin, embraced it, and allowed all the people to be blessed by the holy body, which he placed afterwards inside the church on a chair at a corner of the altar. He then prepared to consecrate the

<sup>1</sup> Read *bi-takris*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *arāna*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *abniatan 'ajibatan*.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. xxviii. 3, 6; Cf. 2 Sam. vii. 13; 1 Kings v. 3.



church in that day, and we said mass, and all of us received the sacrament from the Patriarch, and it was the second day of the month *Baouna*.<sup>1</sup>

After this the Patriarch said goodbye to us, and we left the town, each one of us going to his own country, in the peace of God. Amen.<sup>2</sup> And the body of the holy Mar John the Baptist wrought miracles, prodigies, and wonders of healings in the people of the Lord Jesus Christ. The miracles (which we will mention below) will bear witness to this.

Praise, glory, and power are due to you, O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit who is one in nature, now, always, and for ever and ever.

<sup>1</sup> In M. 183 *hezirān* (June). The second day of the Coptic month *Baouna* corresponds with our 27th of May. In the Arab Coptic Menologia (*Pat. Or.* x. 204), the feast of the finding of the bones of the Baptist actually falls on the second day of *Baouna* or the 27th of May. That a church was built in Alexandria in order to contain the supposed relics of the Baptist sent from Sebaste to Athanasius is attested by Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* xi. 28; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 3; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, i. 117 (edit. Classen). It seems therefore to be historical that a church was built in Alexandria under the name of the Baptist by Theodosius the Great on the site of the temple of Serapis, and finished under the reign of Arcadius. On the other hand it seems to me false to assert that the church contained any bones of the saint. See Baršalibi's *Treatise against the Melchites* in *Woodbrooke Studies*, fasc. 1, and for further details see Smith's and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 881-884.

<sup>2</sup> The story ends here. What follows appears to be by a later hand.

In the name of God, one in nature, and three in persons and attributes, and by the help and assistance of God we will narrate the miracles of the precursor, Saint John the Baptist, which<sup>1</sup> God wrought through him on the day of the consecration<sup>2</sup> of his Church. May his intercession be with us ! Amen.

*The First Miracle.*

There was in the town a girl of a respectable family, the pangs of whose labour had lasted three days without having been delivered of her child, as it was her first babe. The midwives who were present said<sup>3</sup> to her parents : "The babe has died in her womb, and she cannot live." All began to weep over her because she was much loved by them. When men who were carrying the body of Mar John the Baptist to the church reached the house of the girl singing, she asked her parents : "What are these voices ?" They answered her : "A Christian was martyred for the name of Jesus Christ, and the Christians are carrying his body and observing a feast for him."

Now the girl and her parents were pagans. And she said to them : "Carry me to this window so that I may see the body." And four attendants carried her and brought her to the spot she had desired. When she looked down she saw a great and indescribable pomp, and she cried aloud : "O my Lord Jesus Christ for whose holy name this man has been martyred, deliver me from this calamity of mine, through the intercession of this holy man, in order that all may know that you, Jesus Christ, are the only God." While she was saying these words, the babe who was in her womb came out while she was being carried, and he was found to be alive. People were amazed and cried, saying : "Jesus Christ, the God of this martyr,<sup>4</sup> is the only God." And all of them believed and gave to the infant the name of John, and were baptised in the Church of Mar John the Baptist, and remained Christian till the day in which they passed away in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Read *al-lati*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *kunna yaḡulna*.

<sup>2</sup> As usual read *takrīs*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ash-shahīd*.

*The Second Miracle.*

A rich official<sup>1</sup> of the town had a daughter betrothed to a man. A great wedding was prepared<sup>2</sup> for her because she was very rich. On the night in which her husband was to be with her, the holy Mar John, the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, appeared to her in great glory, and she was frightened, but he said to her: "Do you know who I am?" And she answered: "No, my lord." And he said: "I am John the Baptist, the precursor of Christ. When you rise to-morrow go to my church, and take the sign and abundance of your salvation from what you will see on my grave where my body lies." And he disappeared from her sight.

And she rose in the night and went and sat near the door of the church till the morning. When the door of the church was opened she made haste and entered and went to the place in which the coffin was buried. She immediately saw on the grave of the holy Mar John the Baptist a garment of sackcloth, a belt of leather, and a veil. When she noticed them she was amazed and said: "This garment is not for a worldly life," and she ascertained that God wanted her to be a virgin. She then threw immediately in the church the garment of gold that she was wearing, and put on that which she saw on the grave, and went out glorifying God and His saint, Mar John the Baptist, and she became a virgin till the day of her death through the intercession of John the Baptist. May this intercession be with us! Amen.

*The Third Miracle.*

There was in the town a cripple who worshipped idols. Everyone<sup>3</sup> knew him, children and grown ups. When he walked he used to drag his feet on the ground and wrap tightly on them a piece of leather in order that they might not move to and fro. He used to sit every day at the door of the church in order to receive alms from the church-goers.

One day he made bold to enter the church, in order to put oil on his feet from the lamp of the martyr Mar John the Baptist. For this purpose he loosened the leather that was wrapped on his feet and

<sup>1</sup> Greek ἀρχων through the Syriac *arkona*.

<sup>2</sup> Or: he prepared.

<sup>3</sup> Read *aḥadin*.

oiled them from the oil of the lamp. Immediately after his limbs became strong. When he noticed the miracle he raised himself up and cried, saying : "The God of Mar John the Baptist is the one true God." He then received the baptism and became a Christian till he died in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

*The Fourth Miracle.*

There was in the town a woman afflicted with dropsy, and her body was swollen all over. She was very rich, but no physician<sup>1</sup> was able to heal her. She rose up and went to the church of the holy Mar John the Baptist and was oiled with the oil of the lamp which burns before the body of the saint, towards the sanctuary ; and she slept there. While she was asleep her body was torn open and all the foul matter went out of it, and she awakened from her sleep sound and in good health. And she went home glorifying God—to whom be everlasting glory ! Amen.

*The Fifth Miracle.*

There were two blind men in the town who were friendly to each other<sup>2</sup> and ate jointly from the same alms. They went<sup>3</sup> to the church of the holy Mar John the Baptist and oiled their eyes with the oil of the lamp that burns over the body of the saint. The eyes of one of them saw but not those of the other. The latter had a heavy heart, stood up and confessed to God, saying : "O my Lord Jesus have pity on the weakness of my faith, and give light to my eyes as Thou gavest to those of my friend, because to Thee belong power, glory, and honour for ever and ever. Amen." He recited this prayer to the Lord on the grave of the blessed saint Mar John the Baptist, and he immediately saw, and he and all the onlookers glorified God.

Glory, power, and majesty be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit who is consubstantial, One God, now, always, and for ever and ever ! Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Read *aḥadun*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *liba'dihima*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *fa'atayā*.



[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Omits.    <sup>2</sup> Omits.    <sup>3</sup> **المحمدية**.    <sup>4</sup> **أندلس** very often.

<sup>6</sup> **ל** throughout. <sup>7</sup> Omits. <sup>8</sup> Places this sentence before the preceding one. <sup>9</sup> **ל** Omits. <sup>10</sup> Omits. <sup>11</sup> Omits.













[illegible][illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Adds. <sup>2</sup> Adds. <sup>3</sup> Adds. <sup>4</sup> Adds. <sup>5</sup> Adds.  
 Add Ma 21: 6-9. Add Acts 17: 18-20. Add  
 1 Cor 15: 1-11. Add 2 Cor 12: 1-10. Add  
<sup>6</sup> Adds. <sup>7</sup> Omits. <sup>8</sup> Adds. <sup>9</sup> Adds. <sup>10</sup> Adds.

<sup>11</sup> Omits.





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<sup>1</sup> الجب. <sup>2</sup> بصبر. <sup>3</sup> Adds: . <sup>4</sup> Adds: . <sup>5</sup> Omits.

٤ الشمس





[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Adds **חַמֵּ**.   <sup>2</sup> Adds **שֶׁ**.   <sup>3</sup> **סוּמָלָחֵ**.   <sup>4</sup> **לְאֵי**.   <sup>5</sup> Adds **שֶׁ**.

معد الكاهن<sup>١٥</sup> . حبر<sup>١٦</sup> . زبط<sup>١٧</sup> . انا<sup>١٨</sup> . امحب<sup>١٩</sup> .

<sup>11</sup> סמפול. סוס. <sup>12</sup> Adds חב. <sup>13</sup> Adds אלאס.



[illegible][illegible]

1. *الحق لله*. 2. *الحق لله*. 3. *الحق لله*.

<sup>4</sup> Adds ṣalāt ḥamda li-llāhi.      <sup>5</sup> Omits.

<sup>6</sup> Adds ०८.      <sup>7</sup> ११०.      <sup>8</sup> ८८५१.      <sup>9</sup> Omits.      <sup>10</sup> ८८५१.

<sup>11</sup> Adds ၃. <sup>12</sup> ပါးအံ့သံဝါ. <sup>13</sup> တိုဝ်းသံဝါ. <sup>14</sup> အဝဏ်း သေ.















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١. ماضي الخواص. ٢. الحب. ٣. ماضي. ٤. ماضي.

<sup>5</sup> Adds **ചെങ്ക**.    <sup>6</sup> **പി** സംസ്കൃ.    <sup>7</sup> **ശബര** പ്രം.    <sup>8</sup> Omits.



الحكمة في العلم .

١٢. مصلح الكواكب. ١١. خطايي. ١٠. حبس.

לְהַגִּיד לְכָל אֶתְרָא דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן  
 וְכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן  
 וְכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן  
 וְכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן דְּכִיּוֹן

### הַפְּסִקָּה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית.

[אִין חַן אֶחָד] <sup>1</sup> הַפְּסִקָּה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית הַזֶּה. וְכִיּוֹן  
 חֲנִינִי מִן הַיָּד הַזֶּה הַחֲנִינִי הַשְּׁלִישִׁית  
 חֲנִינִי הַזֶּה הַחֲנִינִי הַשְּׁלִישִׁית חֲנִינִי  
 חֲנִינִי הַזֶּה הַחֲנִינִי הַשְּׁלִישִׁית חֲנִינִי  
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 חֲנִינִי הַזֶּה הַחֲנִינִי הַשְּׁלִישִׁית חֲנִינִי

### הַפְּסִקָּה הָרְבִיעִית.

אִין חַן אֶחָד [מִשְׁמַע] <sup>8</sup> הַפְּסִקָּה הָרְבִיעִית  
 חֲנִינִי הַזֶּה חֲנִינִי הַזֶּה חֲנִינִי הַזֶּה  
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### הַפְּסִקָּה הַחֲמִישִׁית.

אִין חַן אֶחָד הַפְּסִקָּה הַחֲמִישִׁית <sup>(sic)</sup> <sup>[12]</sup>

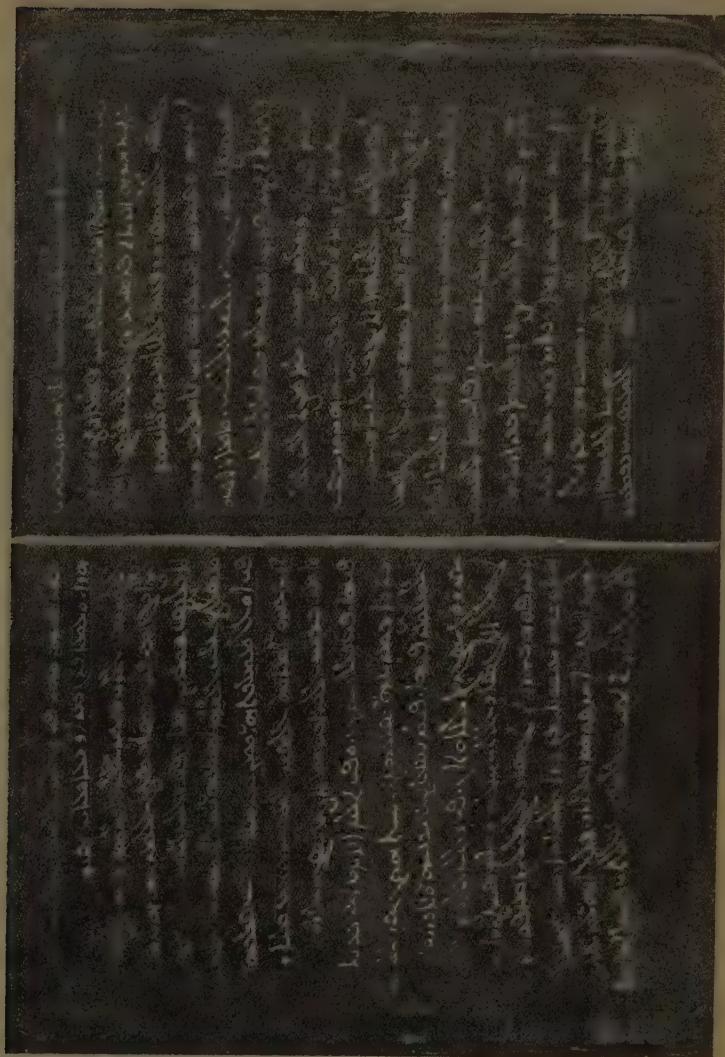
<sup>1</sup> חֲנִינִי אֶחָד. <sup>2</sup> חֲנִינִי. <sup>3</sup> חֲנִינִי. <sup>4</sup> Omits.  
<sup>5</sup> חֲנִינִי. <sup>6</sup> Omits. <sup>7</sup> Adds חֲנִינִי. <sup>8</sup> מִשְׁמַע.  
<sup>9</sup> Omits. <sup>10</sup> Omits. <sup>11</sup> Adds חֲנִינִי. <sup>12</sup> Adds חֲנִינִי.



[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Omits. <sup>2</sup> ~~المصطفى~~. <sup>3</sup> ~~المصطفى~~. <sup>4</sup> ~~المصطفى~~. <sup>5</sup> Adds  
المصطفى. <sup>6</sup> Omits. <sup>7</sup> Omits. <sup>8</sup> Omits. <sup>9</sup> Adds ~~المصطفى~~.  
<sup>10</sup> Adds ~~المصطفى~~.





(iii) *Uncanonical Psalms.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

I give in the following pages the text and the translation of five uncanonical Psalms. Psalm 1 is found in many MSS. of the Syriac Psalter<sup>1</sup> where it is known as Ps. cli. and where it is often introduced as follows: "This Psalm was said by David on himself, when he fought Goliath." It is a translation from Greek, but I have remarked in a footnote that its first verse seems, in thought but not in phraseology, to be reminiscent of the corresponding verse of the famous Gnostic "Hymn of the Soul." If this comparison were proved to be possible, we would be allowed to hold the contrary view, *viz.* that the "Hymn" itself was under the influence of the "Psalm"; this, however, is a question on which we cannot dwell at present as it is beyond the scope of our present studies.

The four other Psalms are only found in the interesting work entitled *Durrāsha*, "Discipline," or more generally *ma'wātha*, "Centuries," of the Nestorian writer Elijah of Anbar who died about 940. The work is represented by some other MSS.<sup>2</sup> all of which are, however, much later than the one marked Mingana Syr. 31 in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.<sup>3</sup> The MS. has unfortunately lost a few of its final leaves and is consequently undated, but on palæographic grounds it may be assigned to about A.D. 1340. It formerly belonged to the Nestorian writer Isho'yahb bar Muḡaddam<sup>4</sup> who died about 1445, and who in an inscription on fol. 90b informs us that he collated a large part of it with an autograph of the author himself. There is reason to believe that at least six out of the eight other MSS. in existence are mere transcripts of this Mingana Syr. 31. A facsimile of the pages containing the Psalms accompanies the

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, vol. i. pp. 35, 124, 125, 137, 138, 140, 405 of Wright's Catalogue of the B.M. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by Baumstark, *Gesch. d. Syr. Lit.* 238.

<sup>3</sup> It was lately acquired by me in Kurdistan.

<sup>4</sup> See about him Baumstark, *ibid.*, p. 329.



translation. I have also compared the translation with Syr. MS. Mingana 51 (ff. 100<sup>b</sup>-105<sup>a</sup>) of about A.D. 1550, in the custody of Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

The source of the author for some of these uncanonical Psalms is unknown to me, but there is no doubt that he was drawing upon excellent material at his disposal. There is in the matter of elevation of thought and diction considerable difference between all these uncanonical Psalms, and in reading those numbered 2 and 3 we almost feel that we are perusing the Bible itself. Their Hebrew parallelism is perfect and there are grounds for believing that they are a direct translation from Hebrew or Aramaic. Psalms 1, 4-5 refer more or less distinctly to the deliverance of David from the wild beasts of 1 Sam. xvii. 34-36.

#### TRANSLATION.

*The Five Psalms of David, which are not written in the Series of the Psalms.*

##### 1.

##### *Thanksgivings of David.*

I was the youngest of my brothers, and a child in the house of my father.<sup>1</sup> I shepherded the sheep of my father, and met a lion and also a wolf,<sup>2</sup> and I slew them and rent them. My hands made an organ, and my fingers fitted a harp. Who will show me to my Lord? —He, my Lord, became my God.<sup>3</sup> He sent his angel and removed me from the sheep of my father, and anointed me with the oil of unction.<sup>4</sup> The Lord was not pleased with my elder and handsome brothers, and I went to meet the Philistine, who cursed me by his idols; but I unsheathed his sword, cut off his head, and banished the insult from the children of Israel.

<sup>1</sup> Compare this verse with the beginning of the Edessene Gnostic hymn of the Soul: "While I was a small child, and dwelling in my kingdom in the house of my father." Bedjan's *Acta*, iii. 110.

<sup>2</sup> From 1 Sam. xvii. 34-36 we know that David was met by a lion and a bear and not a wolf. The variant may be explained by the graphic resemblance that exists in Syriac between the words *bear* and *wolf*. This verse is missing in Greek.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek is: "Who will show it to my Lord? He is the Lord, He heareth me."

<sup>4</sup> The Greek is: "Of His unction."

## 2.

*Prayer of Hezekiah when Surrounded by Enemies.*

Praise God with a loud voice, and proclaim His glory in the congregation of many people. Praise His magnificence in the assembly of the just, and make known His majesty in the company of the pious. Extol His praise, and narrate His exalted dignity in unison with the righteous. Unite your souls<sup>1</sup> with the good and with the meek in order to magnify the Most High. Gather together in order to proclaim His might, and be not tired in showing forth His salvation, His power, and His glory to all the children. It is in order that the majesty of the Lord may be made manifest that Wisdom has been given, and it is in order that it may proclaim His works that it has been made known to men ; for the spreading of His might among the children, and instructing the weak-hearted in His glory : those who are remote from its good advices, and far from its doors. Because the Lord of Jacob is high, and His majesty is on all His servants.<sup>2</sup> The Most High shall be as pleased with the one who magnifies Him as with the one who offers pure flour, and the one who offers he-goats and calves, and the one who makes the altar smell with the odour of many holocausts, and as with the incense from the hands of the righteous. His voice is heard from thy<sup>3</sup> righteous doors, and there is admonition from the voice of the pious, and true satisfaction from their food and their drink, when taken in fellowship. Their resting place is in the law of the Most High, and their speech is for the proclamation of His might. How remote is His word from the wicked, and how difficult it is for all evildoers to understand it ! Behold the eye of the Lord looks upon the righteous, and He will increase His mercy on those who praise Him, and from the time of evil He will deliver their soul. Blessed be the Lord who delivered the needy from the hand of the strangers, and saved the meek from the hand of the evildoers, who raises power<sup>4</sup> from Jacob, and the judge of the Gentiles from Israel, in order that He may lengthen His sojourn in Zion and adorn all our people of Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> Or : yourselves.<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Wisdom (fem.).<sup>3</sup> Or : His works.<sup>4</sup> *Lit.* "Horn."

3.

*When the People Received Permission from Cyrus to Return to their Country.*

O Lord, I have cried to Thee : listen 'to me ; I have lifted my hands to the habitations of Thy holiness : incline Thy ear to me, and grant me my request, and do not refuse my prayer. Build my soul, and do not destroy it, and do not expose it before the unrighteous. Remove from me those who would requite me with evil, O Lord, just judge. Do not judge me according to my sins, because all flesh does not triumph before Thee. Make me, O Lord, understand Thy law and teach me Thy judgments, and many will hear Thy works and the Gentiles will bear witness<sup>1</sup> to Thy majesty. Remember me, and do not forget me, and do not inflict on me calamities more than I can bear.<sup>2</sup> Cast away from me the sins of my youth,<sup>3</sup> and let them not remember my chastisement. Purify me, O Lord, from the evil leper,<sup>4</sup> and let him not keep walking to me. Dry up his roots from me, and let not his leaves stretch over me. O Lord, Thou art great, and that is why my prayer is answered. Whom should I implore to give me anything, and what is the power of the sons of men before Thee, O Lord, my trust ? I cried to the Lord, and He answered me and made whole the wound of my heart. I lay down and slept, I dreamed and was helped, and Thou, O Lord, hast sustained me. They have wounded my heart, but I shall receive (joy) because the Lord has delivered me : let me rejoice now in their confusion ! I trusted in Thee and I shall not be confounded : grant honour for ever, and for ever and ever save Israel, Thy elect, and the children of Jacob, Thy chosen.

4.

*Said by David when Fighting the Lion and the Wolf which took a Sheep from his Flock.*

O my God, O my God, come to my help. Help me and save me. Deliver my soul from the murderer. Let me not go down to Sheol in the mouth of the lion, and let the wolf devour me not. Is

<sup>1</sup> Or: thank.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Do not make me enter the things that are harder than I am."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. xiv. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Or: leprosy.

it not sufficient for them that they lay in wait for the flock of my father, and took out a lamb from the flock of my father, that they wish now to destroy my soul? Have pity, O Lord, and deliver Thy elect from destruction, in order that he may repeat Thy praises in all his moments, and glorify the name of Thy Majesty. When Thou hast delivered him from the hands of the lion which destroys and the wolf which devours, and Thou hast returned the booty from the hands of the beasts. O my Lord,<sup>1</sup> send speedily a deliverer from before Thee, and pull me out of the open abyss that wishes to secure me in its depths.

## 5.

*Said by David when Thanking God who saved him from the Lion and the Wolf both of which he Killed.*

Praise the Lord, O ye all the peoples; magnify Him and bless His name, because He has delivered the soul of His elect from the hands of death, and saved His chosen from destruction. And He delivered me from the snare of Sheol, and my soul also from the unfathomable pit. Because if my salvation had not come from Him but a very short time before it did come, I would have been cut into two pieces for two beasts. He sent, however, His angel who closed the open jaws which were about to devour me, and saved my life from destruction. Let my soul magnify Him and exalt Him for all His favours that He did and is doing for me.

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew word *Adōnai*.



